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PARENTAL EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

by

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine if there are any subjective differences between the working and non-working poor; if those differences can be attributed to cultural forces; and if there is a difference in the school achievement of the children of both groups.

An unstructured interview was conducted with a sample of twenty respondents (ten working poor, and ten non-working poor). The interviews were focussed to elicit the respondents' current and historical experiences. The responses were analyzed to determine their achievement value orientation, the antecedents of such an orientation and their children's school achievement.

The results indicated that there are differences between both groups. Differences relate to their experiences, their achievement value orientation and their children's school achievement. Since there was little difference in the material conditions of both groups it was concluded that the cultural hypothesis could not be rejected.

Of particular importance was the indication that there are substantial differences in the educational achievement of the children. The children of the working poor appear to be higher school achievers than their non-working poor counterparts. It was particularly disturbing to find that the majority of the non-working poor children were low school achievers. Such a finding suggests that the children of the non-working poor are not going to gain the credentials necessary for social mobility and will, therefore, be condemned to their parents' poverty.

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

Introduction

"Real poverty", wrote Donald Caskie, "is starvation, malnutrition, pestilence, tatters for clothing and makeshift shelters built from scrounged materials".[1] Understood in these terms poverty is high infant mortality, distended bellies, stunted growth and dulled intellects. It is oppression, discrimination, servitude, fear and impotence. Poverty is the emasculation of humanity because life itself becomes a battle for survival and emancipation.

Fortunately, the universal availability of income security benefits within Canada has significantly reduced the incidence of "starvation, malnutrition, pestilence, tatters for clothing and makeshift shelters". But, have these same programs reduced "oppression, discrimination, servitude, fear and impotence"? Evidence seems to point to the negative.

There is a growing consensus that there are at least two approaches to the understanding and eradication of poverty. The first is the absolute approach, the second is the relative deprivation approach.

Donald Caskie states that the absolute approach is based upon

> ...a poverty line that is considered the minimum requirement for an individual's or family's basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. A poverty line created in this fashion yields an amount of money that is absolutely necessary for physical survival.[2]

However, there is a growing awareness within western societies that the absolute approach does not address the gross discrepancies in disposable income with its attendant inequalities and discriminations. This

awareness has given rise to the concept of a relative deprivation:

> ...poverty in developed industrial societies is increasingly viewed not as a sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but as an insufficient access to certain goods, services and conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have become accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living.[3]

In Canada the relative poverty line is based upon a calculation of the proportion of an individual's or family's income spent on the basic necessities of life, i.e., shelter, food and clothing. The Revised Statistics Canada Poverty Line is set at 62% of individual or family income. In 1978 such a percentage would indicate that a family of 4 would need to have an annual income in excess of $9,531 to live above this poverty line.[4] To keep this figure in perspective it should be noted that the average reported income for an individual Canadian from wages or salaries was $13,798 in 1978 and for an individual Albertan was $14,168.[5] The income required for a family of 4 to live above the poverty line was significantly below the average individual's income. The basis of this poverty line, i.e., 62% of income, would indicate that in 1976 there were 2,831,000[6] Canadians living in poverty - a figure that excludes "native people on reserves" and "those residing in the Yukon and Northwest Territories".[7]

These, then, are a few of the statistics of economic deprivation. But statistics do not tell the full story. The poor, in part because of their limited financial resources and in part because of discrimination, do not have equal access to benefits generally enjoyed by the more affluent members of society.

Their housing tends to be inferior; their social and recreational facilities non-existent or inaccessible; their health is inferior because of their lack of access to and use of adequate medical services;

their meals are not as nutritious; their schools and schooling inferior; their impact upon the political process limited and, in the long term, probably ineffectual; and their opportunities for social mobility are small.

The poor are trapped by their poverty. They do not have the financial resources sufficient to ameliorate the conditions of their existence. And, because they are unable to change their circumstances, they remain in subjugation to them.

But the question must be asked: Do all poor people respond to and perceive their poverty in the same manner? It is a contention of this thesis that the poor can be separated into two categories:

(a) the non-working poor who are totally dependent upon provincial income security benefits for their sustenance, and

(b) the working poor whose means of support are primarily derived from earnings.

It is suggested that each group perceives and responds to their deprivation in a different manner and this differential perception and response accounts for their being employed or not employed.

If it is accepted that there are different perceptions and responses to poverty, those differences must be explained. Such an explanation, it will be argued, can be achieved only through an analysis of the reasons for the continued existence of poverty within an affluent society.

Explanations of Poverty

In referring to poverty among Canadians, Adams et al, wrote:

> ...people are poor because they don't have enough money. There may be other reasons - lack of education, opportunity and so on - but these are all consequences of not having enough money to maintain an adequate standard of living. And by 'adequate' we do not mean enough for bare survival.[8]

In other words the poor are poor because their wages, inheritances, transfer payments, etc., are insufficient for the maintenance of a middle-class lifestyle. Lewis[9] disagrees with this type of argument and suggests that the reasons for poverty can be found in the personal attributes of the poor, i.e., the poor are unsuited for high-paying, permanent employment. Lewis does, admittedly, recognize that these attributes are a product of a capitalistic class system. Ryan[10] proposes a third approach - the poor are economically deprived because the dominant society has created institutions to deny them access to the benefits of the dominant society (e.g., good jobs, housing, health care, education, etc.), i.e., the poor are discriminated against.

Adams, Lewis and Ryan are each concerned with the exclusion of the poor from the benefits of the dominant society. But their implied solutions differ. The lack of financial resources can be overcome through the redistribution of economic resources, inappropriate personal attributes can be modified through training, and discrimination can be overcome through legislation, affirmative action programs and the education of the discriminator.

The writer accepts that the lack of financial resources and discrimination are important determinants of poverty. However, he also feels that their eradication, of itself, is insufficient to ensure the integration of the poor into the mainstream of society. It is contended

that if the poor are to participate in the mainstream of society, then they must possess the personal attributes which facilitate that participation.

Thus, any viable explanation of the lot of the poor must account for the institutional factors which prevent the poor from being integrated into the mainstream of society. It must also identify the personal attributes required for integration into the dominant society and those forces which enhance or hinder the development of those attributes.

This thesis will limit itself to a discussion of the origins of an individual's value system (a significant aspect of the subjective elements of personal attributes) and their impact upon his integration into mainstream society.

Furthermore, this thesis is based upon the premise that a measure of an individual's integration into society is his type and permanency of employment. The poor are, generally, employed in low status and/or impermanent jobs. Their integration into society will, to a great extent, be predicated upon their ability to obtain higher status occupations.

Status Attainment

The working poor are employed, but they tend to hold low-paying jobs which guarantee the continuation of their poverty. If they had access to better-paying jobs, they would not be poor. Furthermore, if the children of the poor, upon attaining independence, were to have access to financially-rewarding jobs, they would be able to avoid the deprivations of poverty. The questions therefore become: What are the dynamics of the

occupational status attainment process and, why are the working poor employed in low-paying occupations?

Porter states that "education means opportunity".[11] Davis[12] suggests that the 'professionalization' of the occupational structure requires an increasing number of university graduates to fill those positions. Jencks supports this contention:

> Academicians are often called the gate-keepers of the upper middle class. This is a useful half-truth. The straightest and best marked paths to affluence and influence undoubtedly pass through academic institutions.[13]

Although Harvey[14] questions this thesis by arguing that, in recent years, "the upward social mobility value of the undergraduate degree has declined",[15] his acknowledgement of the growing importance of community colleges is a tacit acceptance of the importance of a post-secondary education for occupational selection.

But perhaps the most definitive statement about the status attainment process is that provided by Blau and Duncan. They suggest that:

> Education is a major factor intervening between the occupational status of origin and achieved status.[16]

These arguments suggest, therefore, that one's occupational status is, in part, dependent upon one's level of educational attainment. It would follow, then, that upward mobility for the poor would most likely be a product of educational attainment.

It should be noted, however, that this argument, while supporting the idea of an achieved occupational position, is not intended to completely invalidate the claim that status is also based on ascription. Both Porter[17] and Clement[18] show that the elite tend to recruit from amongst their own membership and Duncan, Featherman and Duncan state that: "the socioeconomic background of a high status family of orientation

is favorable to the achievement of high occupational status".[19] It is accepted that educational attainment acts as an intervening variable between socio-economic status and status attainment and that socio-economic status is the more important variable. However, this thesis will contend that social classes do not consist of undifferentiated masses and that there are subjective class differences which produce differing response to the class situation.

Nonetheless, educational attainment is a prerequisite for status attainment. Thus, if one is to avoid poverty, one must obtain a level of educational attainment necessary to secure an occupation that enables one to secure an income above the poverty line. Conversely, if the poor are unable to obtain sufficient education, then they will be unable to escape their poverty.

It can be concluded, therefore, that the working poor are restricted to their low-paying jobs because of relatively low levels of education. It can also be concluded that the children of the poor, if they are to be upwardly mobile, must obtain the educational credentials necessary for gaining access to higher status occupations.

Values and Achievement

A low level of educational attainment may account for the working poor being employed in low status occupations. But, of itself, does it account for employment status per se? The non-working poor also have a low level of educational attainment and they are not employed. In other words, explanations of employment status must be formulated in other than educational terms.

Continued employment and educational achievement are, to some

extent, the product of individual efforts; i.e., they result from specified behaviors. (Admittedly, there are other variables; for example, personal ability and resources.) This contention implies that a choice can be made between certain types of behavior. For example, the choice to study or not to study will have an impact on one's school achievement. It is suggested that this choice is a function of the individual's value system. Value, as used in this context, refers to:

> ...a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.[20]

Thus, according to this formulation, it is the value system of the working poor that impels them to seek employment. Conversely, the value system of the non-working poor will impel them to seek other ends.

Value systems are an integral part of those personal attributes which will either enhance or inhibit the individual's integration into the dominant society. And, as previously indicated, these are the product of cultural or situational forces.

Problem

The poor comprise a class which, when compared to other classes, is recognized as not having succeeded in educational attainment. This non-attainment has a serious impact on their employability and prospects of social mobility.

However, it is inaccurate to perceive of the poor as being one amorphous, undifferentiated mass who share common aspirations, achievements and values. Rather, it is argued that the consciousness of their material conditions (a consciousness that is either culturally or situationally derived) will produce different value systems which will,

in turn, predispose the poor to perceive and respond to their material conditions in different ways. In other words, the working and non-working poor are differentiated as such because they have a different consciousness of their material conditions.

These differences will have certain ramifications. Presumably, the working poor will tend to see themselves as being part of the mainstream of society and will possess those attributes which may eventually qualify them for entrance into the dominant class. In contrast, the non-working poor will tend to see themselves as being excluded from the mainstream and they will be characterized by a set of attributes which will tend to condemn them to their present social status.

Similarly, it is posited that the children of the working poor, by being socialized into the value system of their parents, tend to be school achievers. As such, they have the potential to obtain an education certification which will qualify them for occupations having greater status than those of their parents. Conversely, the children of the non-working poor, by being socialized into the value system of their parents, tend to be non-achievers in school. As a result and because of their non-achievement, they will not be qualified for higher status occupations and, as such, they are doomed to the experiences of their parents, i.e., they will remain poor.

Using a sample of working and non-working poor as a source of data, this study will test the hypothesis that there are discernible value differences between the working and non-working poor insofar as these differences impact upon their employment and their children's educational achievement.

To achieve this end, it is first necessary to determine the origins

of the consciousness of the material conditions of poverty and its impact on the way in which the poor perceive and respond to their environment. Two explanations will be examined: the cultural and the situational.

Secondly, the "achievement value orientation" is postulated as the value orientation that impels the individual to act in an achievement-related manner. It is argued that values are the product of either cultural or situational forces. In other words, the causal chain being postulated is that the achievement value orientation is the product of the consciousness of material conditions and that the achievement value orientation impels the individual to behave in a manner which is conducive to achievement.

Thirdly, it is necessary to describe (a) the means by which the samples were selected; (b) how the interviews were conducted; and (c) the schedule of items used for the interviews.

Fourthly, it is necessary to analyze and report on the results of the interviews. The results of this analysis will either confirm or deny the validity of the hypothesis.

Significance of the Study

If, as has been suggested, occupational status is an achieved status and the latter is in part determined by educational attainment, then those who fail to achieve in school will be unlikely to experience upward mobility. Thus, should the children of the non-working poor fail to achieve in school, then there is a strong probability that they will be condemned to experience the lifestyle of their parents and that they will be unable to transcend their poverty.

Such a prospect has serious implications for educational and social policy. For the former, a greater consideration would have to be given to the social attributes of the child as they relate to his propensity for educational attainment. It may be necessary for the school to become involved in providing a 'compensatory education' for both the child and the parent; the school would need to be involved in a process that would enhance the development of those attributes which would improve the child's potential for educational attainment and the parents' desire to provide an environment which would be supportive of those attributes. Or, the school may need to develop a curriculum based upon the child's experiences and languages; i.e., the school should capitalize on what the child brings into the classroom in order to successfully integrate him into the culture of the school.

Social policy planners would need to assess the viability of a program which, for certain categories of recipients, treats benefits as being a universal right without there being a reciprocal obligation. If dependence on social allowance benefits is instrumental in the perpetuation of attributes which are inimical to economic status attainment and educational attainment, then the dynamics surrounding the issuing of those benefits need to be reassessed in order to develop a policy that is beneficial to the recipient's positive integration into the mainstream of society.

This study is exploratory in nature. Hopefully, it will provide some indication of those variables which inhibit or promote the social mobility of the poor. Should the evidence support the contention of the study, then further research is justified to more specifically identify those variables which create, reinforce or negate the social dysfunctions of poverty.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Donald M. Caskie, Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]"Economic Council of Canada, Fifth Annual Review", in Poverty in Canada, eds. John Harp and John Hofley, (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971), p. 14.

[4]Caskie, op. cit., p. 26.

[5]Statistics Canada, Canadian Statistical Review 1980.

[6]Caskie, op. cit., p. 26.

[7]Ibid., p.v.

[8]Ian Adams, et al, The Real Poverty Report, (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971), p. 8.

[9]Oscar Lewis, A Study of Slum Culture: Backgrounds for La Vida, (New York: Random House, 1968).

[10]William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, (New York: Vintage Books, 1976).

[11]John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 167.

[12]James A. Davis, "Higher Education, Selection and Opportunity", School Review, 17 (Augumn 1963), pp. 244-265.

[13]Christopher Jencks, "Social Stratification and Higher Education", Harvard Educational Review, 38, 2 (1968), p. 284.

[14]Edward Harvey, Education Systems and the Labour Market (Don Mills: Longman Canada Ltd., 1974).

[15]Ibid., p. 167.

[16]Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 155.

[17]Porter, op. cit.

[18]Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975).

[19]Otis Dudley Duncan, David L. Featherman and Beverly Duncan, Socio-Economic Background and Achievement (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 4.

[20]Clyde Kluckhohn, et al, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action", in Towards a General Theory of Action, Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 395.

CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF VALUES WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE POOR

Introduction

Values are initially a product of the individual's interaction with his environment. But, once established, they act as a determinant of the way in which the individual interacts with that environment. Values are instrumental in determining the individual's response to others, to societal institutions and to environmental stimuli.

It is, therefore, misleading to suggest that poverty is a value. Poverty is deprivation, no more, no less. The experience of poverty (either personally or vicariously) and the perception of poverty (as participant or observer) generate the values which are attributed to both the poor (are they lazy, discriminated against, unfortunate, etc.?) and poverty (is it a necessary part of the social order? should it be eliminated?, etc.). The generated values, in turn, shape the way in which the poor and poverty are experienced and perceived.

However, the values attributed to the poor and to poverty are not determined by poverty alone. Poverty exists as part of a larger social reality which also impacts upon the process of value formation. Thus, an explanation of the value orientation of the poor must go beyond an explanation of their material conditions. There is little, if any, difference between the material conditions of the working and the non-working poor. The rationale for why the former are employed and the latter are not cannot be based on economic factors alone. Rather, it is

suggested that the difference in employment status can, in part, be accounted for by the value system to which the members of each group subscribe (e.g., the working poor are more likely to be characterized by a value system which predisposes them to seek and maintain employment while the non-working group have values which are conducive to their continuing employment). Furthermore, any difference in the school achievement of the children of the working and non-working poor may also be partly a function of differences in value orientations.

If this assumption is indeed true, then one may conclude that, if one desires to change the habits of the non-working poor; i.e., integrate them into the ranks of the employed, there must be a change in the values to which they subscribe. But, any modification of the individual's system can only occur through a concomitant modification of those social forces and environmental factors which have given rise to them.

There are two competing theories attempting to account for the genesis of the value system of the poor. The first is the "culture of poverty" explanation, the second is a situational explanation. Each has its appeal and rationale.

Before discussing these theories it is necessary to define culture as it is used in this thesis. There is a concept of culture which explains particular modes of behaviours and an examination of this concept will provide a basis for an analysis of the culture of poverty as it specifically relates to the reciprocal dynamics existing between the value system and behaviour of the poor. In addition to this examination of the culture of poverty theory, it is also necessary to review the situational explanation of the derivation of value systems. It will be argued that each approach has its virtues and that an understanding

of value systems can only result from the synthesis of the two perspectives.

This chapter will examine the foregoing concepts and relate them to the value systems of the working and the non-working poor as those value systems influence their status in society and their children's school achievement.

The Concept of Culture

In their analysis of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn[1] identified one hundred and sixty-four different definitions, plus additional statements about culture. They categorized these definitions according to their common elements and produced the following composite definition:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted through symbols, constituting the distinct achievement of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts. The essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as the product of action, or on the other hand, as conditioning elements of further action.[2]

The initial impetus for the assignment of values arises out of individual's interaction with his environment. Once values are established within and shared by a group they indicate which experiences and perceptions are sanctioned by the group. As such, they determine how the members of the group are to interact with their environment.

These values are incorporated into symbolic representations which become the means of maintaining and transmitting their incorporated values. The recipients of these symbols will not only be initiated into their representation, but also into their meaning and thus become predisposed to act in a certain manner when faced with identifiable stimuli.

Culture, according to Kroeber and Kluckhohn's definition, embodies the foregoing elements and can, therefore, be seen as an important element in social action, for it is a product of the past experiences of the group and it also predisposes its present and future members to act in a specific manner.

Further, Kroeber and Kluckhohn placed a specific emphasis on the central role that values play in the understanding of culture:

> Values are important in that they provide foci for patterns of organization for the material of cultures. They give significance to our understanding of cultures. In fact, values provide the only basis for the fully intelligible comprehension of culture, because the actual organization of all cultures is primarily in terms of their values.[3]

If a particular group can be identified by its adherence to a peculiar set of values, then it may be possible to analyze that group of cultural terms and to compare it to other groups.

Culture provides the individual with a reference point -- it is the basis of his identity and social integration -- it provides him with a consciousness of group identity, solidarity and continuity.[4] That is, the individual learns and is socialized into a culture which will equip him with the tools that will enable him to mediate, in a manner that is acceptable to his group, the environment into which he is introduced.

Rocher[5], who also recognizes that culture is a principle of social action, states that his concept of culture consists of four key elements: (1) It "includes all human activity, whether it is cognitive, affective, conative (concerned with acting in the strict sense) or even sensory motor".[6] (2) The rules governing this human activity are, to a greater or lesser extent, formalized. (3) Culturally defined human activity is shared. The extent of the sharing is immaterial, i.e., it can be shared by a few or by many. (4) Culture is learned through social interaction.

By synthesizing these four elements, Rocher defines culture as:

> ...an interconnected set of ways of thinking, feeling and acting, which are more or less formalized and which have been learned and shared by a plurality of individuals, serve both objectively and symbolically to unite these individuals in a particular and distinctive collectivity.[7]

The two foregoing definitions distinctly imply that culture is the product of prior experiences that have been shared by a group; that these experiences have resulted in the development of a set of common values that have best enabled the group to both accommodate themselves to, and mediate the environment within which those experiences arose; and that these values are transmitted to, and provide a basis for the actions of succeeding generations. Thus, any stimuli, be it natural or social, which gives rise to a shared experience, can be instrumental in the development of a common set of values -- a set of values which will be directed towards the experience, towards the stimuli that are perceived to have caused it, and towards the milieu within which these stimuli arise. The persistence of these values and the stimuli which evoke them would be instrumental in those values being transmitted and learned. Such a dynamic would promote the development of a cultural identity.

Children introduced into an established culture are initiated into a set of norms, mores and role expectations which will, if the child continues to experience the stimuli that sustains his culture, tend to direct his life's path. The child will be predisposed to respond to his environment in a way which produces predictable behaviour. Thus, for example, the working poor seek and hold stable employment because their cultural system gives the impetus to such behaviours. Conversely, the non-working poor fail to obtain or hold stable employment because their

cultural system does not orient them to do so.

Finally, it is necessary to recognize that the values to which the individual subscribes are not solely a product of his cultural system. The uniqueness of each individual and the uniqueness of the configuration of stimuli to which he is exposed permits the development of a value system which reflects that uniqueness. Culture, according to this conception, becomes a depository of values into which the individual can be socialized but which also becomes subject to modification by the individual because of his idiosyncracies. This would imply that the individual has the ability to function in or adopt an alternative life style or culture. The individual's cultural system will predispose the individual to subscribe to a particular set of values, but it will not be the sole determinant of that subscription. Thus, the values held by an individual will either be solely a product of the individual's cultural system or a product of his culture and his personal experiences.

The Culture of Poverty Thesis

Culture consists of a set of values into which its members are socialized and which provides a basis for the individual's interaction with his environment. But those values are also a product of the prior, shared experiences of the group, experiences shaped by the material conditions of the group's existence. According to this theory, differences in material conditions, if unchanged over time, result in differing experiences and cultural interpretations of the environment for those who share those material conditions. Thus, it would be expected that the material conditions of the poor, i.e., poverty, by being different to the material conditions of the dominant class, produce a

culture which explains those conditions and the relationship of the individual to them and which provides its adherents with a means of mediating their poverty.

Early attempts to incorporate this idea of culture into a theory of the poor generated the concept of "cultural deprivation". The concept was intended to represent the poor's restricted access to the material benefits of society, their lack of educational attainment and their limited social mobility. Unfortunately, even though the concept resulted in some useful insights into the lot of the poor, the terminology left much to be desired. From one perspective, it was a denigration of the total life style of the poor; from another, it was a denial of the existence of their culture, i.e., their experiences and values. Reisman recognized this weakness:

> While lesser socio-economic groups lack many of the advantages (and disadvantages) of middle-class culture, we do not think it appropriate to describe them as 'culturally deprived'. As we shall see, they possess a culture of their own, with many positive characteristics that have developed out of a coping with a different environment.[8]

It is indeed unfortunate that this belated recognition did not result in his changing the title of his book -- The Culturally Deprived Child. Nell Keddie places the concept in a more realistic light:

> ...it is not clear of what culture these families can be deprived, since no group can be deprived of its own culture. It appears therefore, that the term becomes a euphemism for saying that working-class and ethnic groups have cultures which are at least dissonant if not inferior to, the 'mainstream' culture of society at large.[9]

Since the concept of cultural deprivation denigrates the life styles and values of those groups and individuals who are economically disadvantaged, it can serve no useful tool for the understanding of the poor since there is no recognition of the culture which predisposes the poor to

action. If one wishes to comprehend the dynamics of any group, one must seek for an explanation within the experiences of that group and not according to the prescriptions or proscriptions of another group.

Thus, for example, Miller explains the high incidences of delinquency among the members of the lower class as follows:

> ...the commission of crimes motivated by members of adolescent street corner groups is motivated primarily by the attempt to achieve end states, or conditions which are valued, and to avoid those which are disvalued within the most meaningful cultural milieu; through those culturally available avenues which appear as the most feasible means of attaining these ends.[10]

Miller is making a clear statement that delinquent behaviour is not the individual's deviation from some universally held norm; rather it is an act which is the product of a "cultural system which exerts the most direct influence on behaviour", a culture that has a "long established distinctly patterned tradition with an integrity of its own".[12] In effect, then, Miller is attempting to explain the delinquent behaviour of the lower class, not in terms of middle-class values, but in terms of their own orientations which are derived from their own historical experiences and which are acceptable within their social milieu. Lewis has termed this lower class orientation the "culture of poverty". He defines it as having:

> ...its own structure and rationale, (it is) a way of life that is passed down from generation to generation along family lines. This view directs attention to the fact that culture of poverty is not only a matter of economic deprivation, of disorganization, or as the absence of something. It is also something positive and provides some reward without which the poor could hardly carry on.[13]

The culture of poverty is not to be confused with an orientation that is solely an accommodation to deprived material conditions; it is not eliminated by the eradication of deprivation. It fulfills the criteria for culture insofar as it is derived from historical

experiences, it is transmitted and it provides its members with a set of values which enables them to mediate their environment. This latter condition is emphasized and elaborated by Lewis:

> The culture of poverty is both an adaptation to and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair that develop from the realization of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society. Indeed, many of the traits of the culture of poverty can be viewed as attempts at local solutions of problems not met by existing institutions... .[14]

Lewis contends that the effects of this culture are pervasive. By the time a child is six or seven years old he has been socialized into a set of attitudes and behaviours that would prevent his taking advantage of any opportunity that exists in the mainstream culture. For example, a child would be equipped with attitudes, experiences and a language which would militate against his success in school. In fact, it may be suggested that this socialization could prevent a child from even recognizing, let alone desiring, any opportunity that the mainstream culture may provide.

Members of a culture of poverty are characterized by discernible attributes at both the familial and individual levels. According to Lewis[15] the familial level is characterized by an absence of childhood, an early initiation into sexual relations, forced unions, abandonment of wives and children, matriarchal families, authoritarianism, lack of privacy, competition for limited goods and maternal affection, and an emphasis on family solidarity which is rarely achieved. The individual is characterized by feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority, maternal deprivation, orality, weak ego structure, confusion of sexual identification, lack of impulse control, immediate

gratification and little planning for the future, a sense of resignation and fatalism, a belief in male superiority, and a high tolerance of psychological pathology.

This view of the culture of poverty should not be interpreted as representing its members as being totally overwhelmed by the degradations of their experience. For, as Kaplan writes:

> Poverty has its own language, its own colour, its own odor, its own sounds, its own humor, its own sense of law and justice, its own interpretations of politics, religion and education, its own values regarding children and family life, and its own perspective of God and His universe.[16]

However, this is not intended to suggest that the poor live in some fantasy land where they lie in ignorance of their lot. It must be recognized also that there is

> ...a great deal of pathos, suffering and emptiness among those who live in the culture of poverty. It does not provide much support or satisfaction and its encouragement of mistrust tends to magnify helplessness and isolation.[17]

The culture of poverty enables its members to cope with circumstances which, to others, would be completely overwhelming. It enables them to function with humor and pathos. This is not to suggest that they are unaware of their privation; it does suggest that they are able to cope with and survive within the constraints of their deprivation.

This theory of a culture of poverty recognizes that the poor are poor because they occupy a marginal position in an economically stratified society and that the conditions of this poverty have produced a way of life and an attitude towards life that predisposes them to act in a self-defeating manner. Further, because the children of the poor are initiated into this culture at an early age, the removal of poverty <u>per se</u> will not result in the automatic eradication of the values, attitudes, orientations, etc., that characterize its members.

However, to do Lewis justice and to anticipate his critics, it is necessary to add that he believed that the culture of poverty is characteristic of only about twenty percent of the total population of poor people in the United States, and that it was a product of capitalism.

> ...I have tried to document a broader generalization; namely, that it is a serious mistake to lump all poor people together, because the causes, the meanings and the consequences of poverty vary considerably in different sociological contexts. There is nothing in the concept that puts the onus on the character of the poor. Nor does the concept in any way play down the exploitation and neglect suffered by the poor. Indeed, the subculture of poverty is a part of the larger culture of capitalism, whose social and economic system channels wealth into the hands of a relatively small group and thereby makes for the growth of sharp class distinctions.[18]

Lewis did not intend his concept to deny that the poor are unaware of middle class values; nor did he intend to imply that they do not verbally subscribe to these values. He did intend it to describe the reality of their situation and its implications for their behaviour.

The culture of poverty theory implies that the behaviour of some segments of the poor is a product of a value system, which has, itself, historically developed as a response to stimuli inherent in a deprived environment. The persistence of the environment over time and for the same population militated against the amelioration of the attributes spawned by it and has ensured the continued existence of a certain value system. But it should also be noted that, while the culture of poverty may be considered pathological or deviant by some, it does permit its members to function and survive in an environment degrading to their humanity.

Such a theory could be interpreted as suggesting that the non-working poor subscribe to their value system for cultural historical reasons. Their parents were poor, their environment was deprived and they were

socialized into a value system conducive to that style of life and opposed to any other. That style of life may appear dysfunctional to the outsider; however, it permits its adherents to survive with a modicum of self-esteem. The theory would also suggest that the non-working poor do not possess the skills and values which are necessary for both continuous employment and school attainment. The eradication of poverty, therefore, would not automatically lead to an eradication of the cultural orientation produced by that poverty unless these skills are developed and appropriate values are instilled.

In contrast, the same strictures would not apply as extensively to the working poor, i.e., their attributes would be conducive to both continuous employment and school attainment, since they are, after all, employed.

The Situational Explanation for the Derivation of Values

Critics have interpreted the foregoing theory to suggest that the poor are to blame for their own poverty. They would concur with Pearl's contention that "poverty is not so difficult to fathom: basically poverty results when people have little money"[19] and that the problem could be eradicated by a simple redistribution of the wealth of society. From this situational perspective, then, the removal of the source of deprivation would result in the disappearance of the deprivation-related life style.

Thus, Leacock, by implying that the cultural explanation presupposes a cultural determinism, can criticize the concept because it does not respect the adaptability of individuals:

> ...the process of adaptation continues actively throughout an individual's lifetime, individuals are not simply set in motion as children to respond automatically for the rest of their lives. Cultural norms and definitions of roles are constantly reinforced for an individual, or redirected, by the institutional structure within which he functions.[20]

Herzog also criticizes "the assumption that a culture molds all its members by identical forces" and charges that "individual differences are overlooked, as is the interaction of manifold influences affecting an individual".[21] In other words, individual difference and the uniqueness of an individual's circumstance are important factors in the formulation of one's value orientation.

Leacock and Herzog both reject the idea of a completely deterministic culture since it fails to recognize the uniqueness of individuals and their ability to adjust to new circumstances. However, they have failed to recognize the difference between a culture predisposing an individual to act in a certain manner and a culture determining an individual's actions. The former does not suggest that an individual will inevitably act in a certain manner; the latter does. The concept of culture adopted in this thesis recognizes the idiosyncratic nature of certain human behaviour.

Valentine[22] promotes the bicultural model in an attempt to explain the situation of the poor. This model postulates that dominant society only rewards according to its own cultural orientations; it does not attribute any validity to the culture of the poor. It also postulates that the individual is not only subject to the culture of his own community, as transmitted by his family, friends and neighbourhood, but that he is also subjected to the dominant culture through school, mass media and advertising. In other words, Valentine suggests that the

individual is socialized into two cultures, that of his home and that of the dominant society, and that he has the ability to subsequently mediate them both. This ability produces the bicultural person; i.e., a person capable of functioning in the culture of poverty and the culture of the middle class. The implications of this concept are that the walls of the ghetto have been breached by the institutions of the dominant society (e.g., the school and the media) and that the poor can now be socialized into both their own culture and that of the dominant class. Hence, according to this theory, any subsequent inability to move out of the ghetto must be attributed to the discriminations of the dominant class.

Valentine also contends that the "essence of poverty is inequality"[23] and that it "seems probable that opportunities to choose goals, in accordance with value priorities or otherwise, are objectively narrowed when life chances in general are reduced by society".[24] The life style of the poor is seen as an adaptation to the structure of a society which inhibits the development of their potential and the achievement of their aspirations. The inability of the poor to succeed is not a product of their personal attributes but rather the product of a dominant society which denies the poor access to it.

Ryan[25] and Padfield[26] both suggest that the problem of poverty can be overcome through the reorganization of the economic environment and by revising the educational prerequisites for employment which are normally based upon levels of educational certification not regularly achieved by the poor. In other words, if affirmative action programs to ensure the employment of the poor were implemented, there would be a concomitant conversion to an alternate, and by implication, more

acceptable life style on the part of these poor people.

Rodman[27] developed the concept of a "value stretch" to promote the position that the poor basically share the value system of the dominant society.

> By the value stretch, I mean that the lower class person, without abandoning the general values of society, develops an alternative set of values. ... The result is that members of the lower class, in many areas, have a wider range of values than others within the society. They share the general values of society with members of other classes, but in addition they have stretched these values or developed alternative values, which help them to adjust to their deprived circumstances.[28]

According to this theory, the poor subscribe to the value system of the middle class. However, since they lack the advantages of that class, they do not possess the means of sustaining its value system. To compensate for this inability, the poor modify the middle class value system and/or develop an alternative value system which enables them to mediate their environment. Thus, their subscription to the middle class value system is not cancelled, only suppressed, and there is an implication that changed circumstances will result in its resurrection.

Unfortunately, in seeking to explain group differences in values, Rodman is accepting that differences do exist. Any difference - be it qualitative, or quantitative, no matter how slight, no matter what its genesis - becomes a means of identifying the uniqueness of the group which possesses it. Thus, although it is acknowledged that Rodman's conception of a value stretch does have analytical virtues for an understanding of the idiosyncratic nature of values, it does not provide sufficient explanation to warrant a rejection of the culture of poverty theory.

Rainwater[29] also postulates that society can be characterized by groups possessing differing values:

> The distinctive pattern (of values) is constituted by elements that are shared with the larger culture and ones that are peculiar to the group -- it is the configuration of both kinds of elements that is distinctive to the lower class. The argument comes not so much in whether a lower class sub-culture can be said to exist, but in what its context is and how it should be characterized.[30]

Again, there is the recognition that the poor possess a value system which is different from that of the dominant class; however, some elements of this system are derived from, and are shared with the dominant system.

Of particular importance for Rainwater's thesis is the origin of those differences:

> Individuals in a group negotiate with significant others to be allowed to play the normative game -- to get into the game and to have the resources that will allow them to play it. If the individual is not allowed to play the game -- or if he cannot obtain the resources to play the game successfully and thus experiences constant failure at it, he is not a 'conceptual boob' enough to continue banging his head against a stone wall - he withdraws from the game. Instead he will try to find another game to play, either one that is already existing and at hand or one that he himself invents.[31]

This metaphor is instructive insofar as it enables Rainwater to propose that the value system of the poor results from their lack of resources and that the poor will only seek an alternative value system after they have been unable to sustain the value system of the dominant class. However, Rainwater's suggestion that the individual who is unable to sustain the middle class value system will seek an alternative in an existing "game" implies the existence of an alternative culture (a "culture of poverty") to which the individual can subscribe.

The proponents of the situational perspective would suggest that the poor are aware of and endorse the value system of the middle class. It is their inability - the product of the discriminations of the middle class - to sustain that system which creates the need for them to develop an alternative value system. The emphasis is placed upon the individual's

ability to develop a value system which suits the peculiarity of his needs. The stress is upon the idiosyncratic nature of value systems.

Consequently, this perspective posits that any differences that exist between the working and non-working poor are the product of situational factors. It follows then that if both groups experienced the same stimuli they would adhere to similar value systems.

Cultural and Situational Explanations for the Derivation of Values

An important element in the cultural explanation of the individual's adherence to a particular value system is that the adherence is a product of his early socialization. The individual is presented with a set of values which dictates the appropriate response to be made to a given situation, i.e., the individual is predisposed to behave in a predictable manner. The critics of the cultural explanation question this dynamic as it applies to the poor.

According to their conception, the poor are aware of the value system of the dominant class, but because their circumstances do not permit them the luxury of enjoying such a system, they create a value system that suits their own particular needs. For the critics, the value system of the poor is situationally derived; the value system is created or appropriated to meet the demands of a particular situation. The critics thus emphasize the idiosyncratic nature of values. However, it should be remembered that the cultural explanation is not totally deterministic and that it also recognizes the idiosyncratic nature of value systems.

Kriesberg[32] implies that the two theories are not mutually exclusive and that one needs to be cognizant of both explanations for understanding

the dynamics involved in the generation of values. He specifically suggests that a differentiation must be made between cultural values... "which result from (a) the parental transmission of values and beliefs which in turn determine behaviour, or (b) the direct parental transmission of behaviour patterns", and situational values, which may result from a) "social conditions, e.g., patterns of interaction, or b) non-social conditions, e.g., differences in financial resources".[33] Such a dichotomy can serve as a useful analytical tool. It focuses attention on the need to specify the source of the individual's value system.

The theory of culture presented in this chapter posits cultural values as having their origins in situational values. In other words, an individual had an experience to which he attributed a value. The value came to be shared by a group who incorporated it into their value system. Over several generations the value became established into the cultural tradition of the group and was transmitted to subsequent generations, where it acts as a guide to appropriate behaviour. This process is presented as an institutionalization of a situationally derived value. The critics' argument is essentially a denial of the institutionalization of the situationally derived values of the poor. In other words, the poor have to recreate or appropriate the values which make their world viable. Their young are not socialized into an established order which enables them to mediate deprived circumstances. Rather, they learn their social interaction skills through personal experience.

This thesis contends that these seemingly incontrovertible positions can be resolved through an acceptance of the fact that the value systems of the poor can be either culturally or situationally derived. Some among the poor will exhibit behaviours that are directly

attributable to their cultural heritage (for example, the working poor person works because he was taught, either explicitly or implicitly, that work is a virtue). Others among the poor will exhibit situationally derived behaviours that are directly attributable to their own experiences, experiences which have failed to recreate the milieu within which their cultural heritage is operable. For example, the individual who has been taught to value work but who, because of ill health or redundancy of skill, is unable to work and must structure his life accordingly.

The model being proposed is based on the assumption that individuals are socialized into a culture. This culture will predispose them to act in a prescribed manner as long as the environmental forces sustaining that culture remain constant and as long as the individual is capable of responding to those forces in the prescribed manner. If, however, the environmental forces do not remain constant, the individual may create or appropriate a value which will enable him to successfully mediate the changed circumstances. For example, in a vibrant economy an individual may value the ability to move from one job to another whereas in a depressed economy, the same individual may value the stability of a job. Each value would have ramifications for behaviour. The first may lead to a cavalier, transient response to employment. The second could lead to a subservient, staid response to employment.

Similarly, if the individual is incapable of responding to his circumstances in the culturally prescribed manner, he may create or appropriate a value which will enable him to mediate those circumstances. For example, the individual who is initiated into a cultural order which values intellectual pursuit may not have the mental capacity to pursue

this end. Such an incapacity could result in the individual valuing some alternative form of accomplishment (e.g., physical prowess).

The digression from a cultural value system is not necessarily certain, immediate or permanent. The lack of certainty is exemplified in those whose life styles belie their circumstances and who value untenable positions when the weight of evidence would dictate against those positions (e.g., the continued existence of a Flat Earth Society).

The lack of immediate digression from a value system may be due to a belief that the lack of constancy or incapacity are merely temporary aberations which will soon be corrected. The length of this "impermanence" will dictate whether or not there will be a digression from the cultural order. For example, the redundant auto worker may continue to cling to his cultural values because he believes that this is just another temporary "lay-off". However, with the growing realization that the auto companies are going to employ a reduced work force, and with the concomitant realization that he is redundant, he will tend to re-evaluate and even possibly reject his cultural value system. This re-evaluation and rejection will provide the impetus for the creation or appropriation of an alternative value system.

The lack of a permanent digression arises when the environmental forces return to their original state or when the incapacity is overcome. Thus, for example, if our auto worker was re-employed in his old occupation there would be a reversion to his original value system. However, it is also recognized that the longer one is in a situational order the more difficult it is to revert to the cultural order. This, then, is the basic model. Individuals are born into cultural orders which predispose them to act in a specified manner. That behaviour will

continue to characterize their lives unless the environmental forces sustaining that culture are eliminated and unless the individual is or becomes personally incapable of acting according to the specified norms. When the cultural order ceases to be viable, the individual creates or appropriates an alternative order. It is at this juncture that the individual's behaviour ceases to be determined by cultural factors and becomes determined by situational factors. The situational order can only exist when the cultural order ceases to exist. Conversely, as long as the cultural order is credible it prevails over situational factors.

Summary

The foregoing suggest that the concept of culture, if appropriately defined, can serve a useful function in the analysis of social phenomena. Such a definition should be cognizant of Rocher's contention that culture consists of formalized behavioural prescriptions and proscriptions that are shared by a social group and transmitted to subsequent generations. In addition, there is also an acceptance of Kroeber and Kluckhohn's contention that values are an integral aspect of culture insofar as they form the basis of the organization, world view, and the behaviour of the group. These values are the mainspring of the individual's and group's behaviour and thus provide a useful tool for identifying and comparing disparate groups in cultural terms.

However, it is also recognized that culture has an idiosyncratic quality insofar as it predisposes rather than determines the individual's behaviour. This contention necessitates the presentation of a complementary theory for the genesis of values. It is felt that such a genesis can result from the individual's own experiences, i.e., the individual's

personal adaptation to his circumstances. Consequently, it is suggested here that an acceptance of Kriesberg's differentiation between culturally derived and situationally derived values is necessary if one is to accurately theorize about the role that values play in the determination of an individual's behaviour. Furthermore, if the situationally derived values are shared, if the circumstances which produces those values remain unchanged, and if those values are transmitted to succeeding generations, then one can observe the birth of a cultural order.

It is further suggested that if any people in Alberta are to be characterized by a culture of poverty, they would be found within the ranks of the non-working poor. They would be characterized by a value system which would not be conducive to their participation in the world of the middle class and which would, therefore, preclude them from obtaining any regular employment. To prove the existence of a segment of the non-working poor whose lot is the product of a culture of poverty, it would be necessary to demonstrate that their value system contains Rocher's four elements. The children of this group would not be expected to be socialized into a value system which would be conducive to their educational achievement. Consequently, these children would be expected to be characterized by low achievement in school.

Obviously, not all of the non-working poor would fall into this category. Others would be there because of their own misfortunes and would, consequently, be expected to have developed a value system which would enable them to adjust to their changed circumstances and which would be similar -- in focus but not origin -- to the value system of those belonging to the culture of poverty. If the circumstances of this group remained unchanged, then it would be expected that their children

would become socialized into a value system which would be detrimental to their school achievement. These children are expected to experience failure in school. Such a dynamic could lead to the development of a culture of poverty.

It is also recognized that there will be a third category of non-working poor persons. These are the people who, because they perceive their deprived circumstances to be of a temporary nature, continue subscribing to middle class values.

In contrast, it is posited that the working poor are more likely to adopt a value orientation that is conducive to their maintaining stable employment. It is a value orientation which enables them to compete, with some measure of success, in the employment market and to mediate the institutions of the dominant class. By nature, it is similar to the value system of the middle class. Also, the value orientation of the working poor can be a product of either a cultural or a situational order.

Both the working and non-working poor are characterized by an identical objective attribute, namely, poverty. But the subjective consciousness of that poverty differs between the two groups. It is suggested that the non-working poor will, generally, share a similar value orientation. This value orientation may not be similarly derived; it may be the product of a cultural or situational order. However, the behavioural and achievement-related implications of this shared-value orientation will be identical. Poverty will continue to be an experience which is both devoid of success and an affirmation of failure. It is an experience that reinforces the validity of the value orientation that gave rise to the experience.

Conversely, the working poor's shared-value orientation is reinforced by their continued employment. Employment is a successful experience sanctioned by society. It reinforces the validity of a value orientation which facilitates their integration into, or at least their acceptance by, the dominant class.

Poverty has different dimensions. For the non-working poor it totally permeates their existence. They are allowed no respite. Their poverty reinforces a value orientation which will ensure that they are deprived of the personal resources that facilitate status mobility. They and their children are condemned to a continuing poverty.

The working poor experience the same material deprivation. However, they have, because of their employment, a greater exposure to an alternative way of life and are, to some extent, integrated into it, i.e., they make a material contribution to the maintenance of the economic order. Thus, even though the working poor experience physical deprivation, they also have experiences which reinforce a value orientation that will enhance their potential for status mobility. They are equipped with attributes and enjoy experiences that free them from the total hopelessness and confinement of material deprivation.

Finally, it must be reiterated that a unique contribution of this study lies in its synthesis of the cultural and situational explanations of behaviour. Cultural orders are the institutionalization of situational orders and situational orders may become integrated into cultural orders. Individuals are, from birth, integrated into a cultural order which will predispose them to act in a specified manner. A situational order can only succeed a cultural order if the environmental forces sustaining that order are abrogated and/or if the individual is incapable of

behaving in the culturally prescribed manner.

This chapter has identified the genesis of value systems and has contended that the individual's value system will predispose him to act in a prescribed manner. Achievement-related behaviour is, therefore, posited as being the outcome of a value system which favors such an end. The following chapter identifies the achievement value orientation as the value orientation which predisposes the individual to strive for employment.

FOOTNOTES

[1]A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (New York: Vintage Books, 1952).

[2]Ibid., p. 35.

[3]Ibid., p. 341.

[4]Zevedei Barbu, Society, Culture and Personality: An Introduction to Social Science (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), p. 75.

[5]Guy Rocher, A General Introduction to Sociology: A Theoretical Perspective (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1972).

[6]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

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CHAPTER III

VALUES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ACHIEVEMENT-RELATED BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

The introductory chapter of this study identified occupational status as being, primarily, a social status which is directly influenced by an individual's educational attainment. Thus, it was argued that a high level of formal education will enhance the individual's ability to obtain a higher status occupation and as such, will enhance the individual's prospects for social mobility. It was concluded that if the poor are to be upwardly mobile, they must obtain the educational credentials necessary to secure higher status occupations.

This argument also hypothesized that an individual's value orientation is one of the more important variables in determining educational success. It was further posited that a distinction can be made between the working and non-working poor, and that the working poor are more likely to be characterized by a value orientation which will facilitate success in school which, in turn, will enhance their prospects for social mobility.

The second chapter discussed some of the literature on the genesis of values and argued that values can be either culturally or situationally derived. Furthermore, it was posited that although members of a group may be characterized by a similar value orientation--the value orientations of the group members may be differently derived, i.e., one subgroup of individuals may have been socialized into the value

orientation, the other subgroup may have created or appropriated it when their original culturally-derived orientation proved untenable.

The preceding chapters have theorized about the relationship between value orientations and occupational and education attainment. However, as yet there has been neither an elaboration of the relationship between value orientations and behaviour, nor an identification of the value orientation which gives impetus to achievement-related behaviour. Consequently, this chapter will: (a) formulate a theory of value as it relates to behaviour, (b) identify the achievement value orientation as that which gives the impetus to achievement-related behaviour, and (c) briefly review previous research that has examined the link between achievement values and achievement-related behaviour.

Definition of Value

The value system to which an individual subscribes is an indicator of the type of behaviour that he can be expected to exhibit. Thus, if the values which are conducive to both educational attainment and the achievement of occupational status can be determined and measured, it would be possible then to identify individuals who are predisposed toward the achievement of high occupational status and subsequent social mobility.

However, the question which must be asked is: What is a value and how is such a concept related to achievement? The answer can be realized only through a definition of value, specifically as it relates to behaviour. Such a specification provides the basis for identifying and elaborating on those values which facilitate achievement-related behaviour.

Kluckhohn's[1] definition of value has provided a basis for

developing the concept of an achievement value orientation:

> {A value} is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and end of action.[2]

Each element of this definition has a specific intent. "Conception" is intended to imply that cognitive processes play an important role in the creation of values, while the "desirable" acknowledges the role that the affective processes play in the determination of a value. The fusion of these two elements, conception and the desirable, the "union of reason and feeling",[3] provides the rational base for the genesis of one's values.

Although individuals can verbally identify some of the values to which they subscribe (the explicit conception) many values can only be inferred from "behaviour and through verbalizations that do not directly state the pertinent values"[4] (the implicit conception).

The inclusion of the element "available" suggests that any phenomenon can be responded to in many ways and that an individual has the capacity to choose from among these alternatives. According to Kluckhohn, this selection is not necessarily conscious. It is "influenced by generalized codes rather than determined simply by impulse or by a purely rational calculus of temporary expediency".[5] That is, the choice of alternatives is not random, the choice is a product of prior socialization - a socialization which has assigned a value to each of the competing responses. However, Kluckhohn avoids the implication that the choice of response is totally pre-determined by suggesting that the individual can give a "private interpretation and meaning"[6] to his experiences.

Finally, in Kluckhohn's conceptualization, value is attributed to (a) the outcome of an act, (b) the way in which an act is carried out, and (c) those resources used by the individual in the commission of the act. Consequently, it is suggested that a range of values, each consciously derived, can be attributed to any configuration of goals and behaviours. The individual is capable, given the constraint of prior socialization, of selecting from among that range, a value which will determine the desirability or undesirability of a certain goal or behaviour. The selected value will determine if something is to be achieved or avoided; it will also determine the amount of effort that will be expended in that achievement or avoidance. For example, the value placed on education will determine the intensity of effort that will be directed towards it.

Value Orientations

Kluckhohn defines a value orientation as:

> ...a generalized and organized conception, influencing behaviour, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and non-desirable as they may relate to man-environment and inter-human relations.[7]

A value orientation is organized around a set of phenomena and/or stimuli. It will affect both the way in which one responds to these forces and the way in which one perceives them.

All human interaction is constrained by the individual's perception of the environment within which his interactions occur. This perception consists of two parts: the existential and the normative. The existential perspective is defined as either that which actually exists or that which is believed to exist. The normative perspective recognizes that man has a conception of what ought or ought not to be. The latter

is reflected in how man perceives his fellow species and his environment. Thus, it is suggested that the normative perspective is (a) based upon an attributed value, and (b) the basis of the individual's orientation to his environment and its elements. These elements are included in Kluckhohn's definition of a value orientation.

Since many aspects of man's environment and needs are universal, Kluckhohn suggests that it is reasonable to expect that certain values may be universally shared. However, they are probably of an "entirely broad and general sort" and will only be found if "one extricates the conceptual core from the superficial cultural trimmings".[8] The implication of such a contention is that it may be possible to identify certain universal forces in man's environment and to isolate the value orientations which are attributed to those forces.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck[9] have refined the foregoing by proposing an alternative definition for value orientation:

> ...Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process -- the cognitive, the affective and the directive elements -- which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of "common-human" problems.[10]

The cognitive and affective elements are in keeping with Kluckhohn's contention that the existential and normative dimensions of man's intellectual abilities are necessary for the construction of any value system. If these abilities did not exist, man would merely respond to any stimuli on a purely instinctive basis.

However, these elements are of themselves insufficient to explain the existence of a value (and it is here that Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck first digress from Kluckhohn). There is also a directive element which

represents the species' adaptability to his environment and his need for survival. It is this directive element that makes it possible for man to order and systemize his world and his relationship in it and which "both aids in the selection among possible value systems and also serves to give continuity to the total system".[11]

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck argue that that which most differentiates their definition from preceding definitions is their conception of value orientations as being "complex principles which are variable only in patterning".[12] This conception is based upon three propositions:

> (1)...there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution.
> (2)...while there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions.
> (3)...all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differently preferred.[13]

These propositions would suggest that there are (a) certain elementary and universal conditions to which man must respond, (b) a limited number of alternative value orientations attributable to those conditions, and (c) all of these alternatives exist to a greater or lesser degree amongst and within all societies at any given time. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck suggest that these alternative value orientations can be rank ordered according to their degree of dominance among a given group of people.

Achievement Value Orientation

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck propose the existence of the following five common human problems and concomitant value orientations: (See Table 1 for a schematic representation).

(1) Human Nature Orientation
To the question of what the innate goodness or badness of human nature is, there are three logical divisions of Evil,

Good and Evil, and Good...Moreover the principle of mutability and immutability increase the basic threefold classification to six possibilities.[14]

(2) Man-Nature (Supernature) Orientation
Man can be either in "subjugation-to-Nature", where he is at the whim of every caprice of nature; in "harmony-with-Nature", which implies that man is an extension of nature and can use it for his own benefit; or in "mastery-over-Nature", where he brings nature under his personal control.

(3) Time Orientation
Obviously every society must deal with all three time problems, all have their conception of the Past, the Present, and the Future. Where they differ is in the preferential ordering of the alternatives.[15]

(4) Activity Orientation
In the Being orientation the preference is for the kind of activity which is a spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given" in the human personality...it is a non-developmental conception of the activity. It might even be phrased as a spontaneous expression in activity of impulses and desires... .
The Being-in-Becoming Orientation shares with the Being one a great concern with what the human being is rather than what he can accomplish, but here the similarity ends. The idea of development...is paramount... . The Being-in-Becoming orientation emphasizes the kind of activity which has as its goal the development of all aspects of the self as an integrated whole. (The) most distinctive feature (of the Doing orientation) is... (its) demand for the kind of activity which results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the individual.[17]

(5) Relational Orientation
There are three dimensions to this orientation: the collateral, the lineal and the individualistic.

Collaterality...is found in all societies. The individual is not a human being except as he is part of a social order and one type of inevitable social grouping is that which results from laterally extended relationships. These are the more immediate relationships in time and space.

In addition all societies must take into account the fact that individuals are biologically and culturally related to each other through time. There is, in other words, always a Lineal principle in relationship which is derived from both the biological given of age and generational differences and from the fact of cultural continuity.[18]

Although all societies share the five common human problems, it is

FIGURE 1

KLUCKHOHN AND STRODTBECK'S VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND THE RANGE OF VARIATIONS POSTULATED FOR EACH[16]

Orientation				
Human Nature	Evil	Neutral	Mixture of Good-and-Evil	Good
	Mutable Immutable	Mutable	Immutable	Mutable Immutable
Man-Nature	Subjugation-to-Nature	Harmony-with Nature		Mastery-over-Nature
Time	Past	Present		Future
Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming		Doing
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality		Individualism

doubtful that all societies would be characterized by the same configuration of responses, i.e., each society would exhibit its own preferential ranking of value orientations. This configuration would be incoprorated into the social repertoire of the society and would be integrated into its cultural heritage. Similarly, each individual would be faced with the same five common human problems and would also have a preferential ranking of value orientations. Thus, at both the societal and individual level, all value orientations exist at any given time but they will be ranked according to individual and societal preference.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck further theorize that societies which accord preference to the Evil-but Perfectable, the Mastery-over-Nature, the Future, the Doing and the Individualistic orientations tend to be predisposed to achieve economic success. They identified this configuration as being an "Achievement Value Orientation". It is suggested here that the measurement of these elements would provide an indication of an individual's potential to be employed in a high status occupation. The measurement would also act as an indication of his child's disposition toward educational achievement.

Strodtbeck[19], in a further attempt to predict achievement-related behaviour, developed a V scale which measures <u>three</u> value orientations:

(1) A belief that the world is orderly and amenable to rational mastery; that, therefore, a person can and should make plans which will control his destiny.

(2) A willingness to leave home and make one's way in life.

(3) A preference for individual rather than collective credit for work done.[20]

A positive score for each value orientation would be indicative of an achievement value orientation.

Rosen,[21] in an elaboration of these theories, developed the concept

of an "Achievement Syndrome" which consisted of a matrix of achievement motivation, educational-vocational aspirations and an achievement value orientation. His achievement value orientation focuses the "individual's attention on status improvement and helps to shape his behaviour so that achievement motivation can be translated into successful action".[22] It consists of three dimensions:

(1) Activistic-Passivistic Orientation concerns the extent to which the culture of a group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. An activistic culture encourages the individual to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passivistic culture promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.

(2) Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation refers to the extent to which the individual is expected to subordinate his needs to the group .... The collectivistic society places a greater stress than the individualistic on group ties and group incentives.

(3) Present-Future Orientation concerns the society's attitude toward time and its impact on behaviour. A present oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present, emphasizing immediate gratifications; a future orientated society encourages the belief that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or normally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.[23]

For Rosen it is the Activistic, Individualistic and Future orientations which form the essence of an achievement value orientation.

There is a certain amount of duplication in the foregoing theories. Strodtbeck's first orientation, "a belief that the world is amenable to rational mastery" can be equated to Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Man-Nature Orientation; his second and third orientations, each representing a dimension of individuality, can be equated with Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Relational Orientation and Rosen's Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation. Rosen's Activistic-Passivistic and Present Future

Orientations can be equated with Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Man-Nature and Time Orientations, respectively. These relationships are shown in Table II.

The only orientation that is not shared is Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's Human Nature Orientation. It is felt that this orientation can be excluded from any scheme due to human nature being one aspect of nature and any orientation to human nature can be subsumed under the Man-Nature Orientation. The mutability-immutability dichotomy could then be related to the mastery-subjugation dimensions of that orientation.

FIGURE 2

THE VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF KLUCKHOHN AND STRODTBECK, STRODTBECK AND ROSEN

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck	Strodtbeck	Rosen
1) Human Nature Orientation		
2) Man-Nature Orientation	1) Rational Mastery of the World	1) Activistic-Passivistic Orientation
3) Time Orientation		3) Present-Future Orientation
4) Activity Orientation		
5) Relational Orientation	2) Individualism-collaterality 3) Individualism-lineality	2) Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation

It is also felt that a discrete variable cannot adequately represent the concept of an achievement value orientation. For example, it is inconceivable that an individual would view others as being totally good or totally bad. He may see a tendency to be more good than bad, but that is only because the goodness outweighs the badness. Similarly, the individual cannot be characterized as having or not having an achievement value orientation. He can only be characterized as possessing that attribute to a greater or lesser extent. Thus, the orientation will be stronger or weaker.

Consequently, it is proposed that the achievement value orientation can best be conceived as existing on a continuum bounded by polar opposite variables. The tendency to be identified with a variable at one extreme of the continuum would indicate that the individual is more strongly associated with that variable and less strongly associated with its polar opposite. For example, the identification of an individual as being future oriented can be interpreted as a strong future orientation or a weak past orientation. Conversely, an individual who is classified as being past oriented can be represented as having a strong past orientation or a weak future orientation.

It is proposed that by synthesizing Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's and Strodtbeck's and Rosen's orientations, four axis can be developed to accurately identify the relevant dimensions of an achievement value orientation. They are:

(1) Control vs. Fatalism

The control orientation is reflected in the belief that man can control his natural, social and man-made environments, that man can

manipulate his environment to his advantage, and that man is master of his own destiny.

Fatalism is associated with the belief that environmental forces limit man's actions, that others control one's destiny, and that "luck" is the determinant of life's outcomes.

A control orientation is considered to be an integral part of an achievement value orientation. Therefore, an individual is characterized as having a high control orientation when the control attitude is predominant and as having a low control orientation when a fatalistic attitude is predominant.

(2) Future Time vs. Past

The future time orientation is reflected in an acceptance of the desirability of planning for the future and in a belief that the future holds a better promise. The past orientation tends to be a negation of the future, a fear of the future, and a belief that the past was more conducive to the individual's well being.

The future time orientation is another dimension of the achievement value orientation. An orientation toward the future is interpreted as indicating a high future orientation; an orientation to the past is construed as representing a low future orientation.

(3) Individualistic vs. Collectivistic

The individualistic orientation is reflected in the belief that independent activity is a laudable goal, that individual initiative is to be applauded, that dependency is to be avoided, and that the individual should take primacy over the collectivity.

The collectivistic orientation is a denial of uniqueness and personal initiative. It is a fear of leaving the comfortable confines of the group. It is a desire to belong, to be integrated into and accepted by the group, even if it means the suppression of one's own individuality.

The individualistic orientation is also a dimension of the achievement value orientation. A tendency toward the individualistic orientation is interpreted as a high individualistic orientation; a tendency toward the collectivistic as a low individualistic orientation.

(4) Doing vs. Being

The doing is manifested in goal-directed behaviour that has been sanctioned by society. It is what is done, not what one believes he ought to do.

The being orientation is reflected in behaviour that is in a symbionic relationship with an impulse. It is behaviour that is merely an instinctive response to a stimuli.

The doing orientation is the final dimension of the achievement value orientation. A tendency to do is a characteristic of a high doing orientation, inactivity of a low doing orientation.

It is the combination of the control, future, individualistic and doing orientations which constitute the achievement value orientation.

Parent's Social Class, Educational Attainment and Achievement Value Orientation

Several social scientists have used different measures of the achievement value orientation and have found it to be correlated with social class and educational achievement. For example, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck developed an instrument to measure their five value orientations and tested it in five communities that could be readily differentiated according to cultural criteria. As they hypothesized, the Texan-Oklahoman and Mormon communities, which were relatively successful in economic terms, scored higher on the achievement value orientation scale than did the Navaho Indian, the Pueblo Indian and the Spanish, American communities. These findings supported their hypotheses, lent credence to the concept of an achievement value orientation and gave an impetus to further studies.

Strodtbeck developed a V scale as a measure of achievement value orientation for his study of the differing achievement of Jews and Italians. Strodtbeck believed his instrument to be successful at differentiating cultural groups in terms of their values:

> ...the V scale results are impressive because they reflect differential achievement of cultures (Jews versus Italians), of fathers, (high versus low socio-economic status) and of sons (over versus under achievers).[24]

Rosen also developed an instrument to measure the three orientations that constituted his achievement value orientation. He used this instrument to test his hypothesis that Jews, white Protestants and Greeks, who are generally of higher status, tend to score higher on his scale than Italians, French Canadians and Blacks, who are often of a lower status. Rosen found that, "in a large measure, these expectations were confirmed. ...Jews have the highest mean score followed closely by Protestants,

Greeks and Negroes... . The Italians' score is almost a point lower, and the French-Canadian score is lowest for any group."[25] Rosen suggests that the unexpected score for Blacks may account for the economic gains that they have made in recent years.

D. Jayasuriya,[26] using an extended version of the Rosen scale in a study of the achievement value orientations of secondary school students in London, England, found a correlation between school achievement and achievement value orientations. He also found that when I.Q. and type of school were held constant, the correlation between social class and achievement value orientation broke down. This finding suggests that the relationship between social class and achievement value orientation is spurious.

Sugarman[27] used Jayasuriya's instrument in his study of the 4th form boys in four London secondary schools. When he held I.Q. constant, he found, like Jayasuriya, that achievement value orientation was correlated with academic achievement and that high achievement value orientation scores were associated with the "intellectual quality of home background"[28] rather than with father's occupation. He concluded that a high achievement value orientation was not a reflection of a middle-class background but that it "differentiates those teenage boys who seem bound for the middle-class".[29] In other words, high achievers, regardless of social-class background, take upon themselves the value orientation of the middle-class.

Craft,[30] using Rosen's instrument in his study of 14-year-olds in Dublin, found that when he held I.Q., social class and religion constant, the achievement value orientation of the child's parents had a significant impact upon a child's school-leaving age. The "higher his/her

parents' value scores (and particularly in the case of mother's scores) the later a child in this sample left school".[31]

Kitchen[32] used the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck instrument in his study of grade nine students in the Anglican schools of Newfoundland. He found that achievement value orientation was correlated with the type of community the child came from, the child's peer group relationships and his father's occupation.

Lawlor,[33] in his study of grade nine students in Edmonton, used Rosen's instrument. He found that the child's achievement value orientation so derived was correlated with his father's social class.

Strong[34] used Rosen's instrument in her study of a sample of junior and senior high school students from Edmonton and continguous rural areas. She found, with one exception, that there was a positive correlation between social class and achievement value orientation. The exception was the Indian and Metis students who consistently scored lower on the achievement value orientation score, irrespective of their social class background.

Taylor[35] used an adapted version of the Strodtbeck-Rosen instrument in his study of a sample of grade 12 matriculation students in Edmonton. He found that there was a correlation between social class and achievement value orientation. He also found that when compared to other studies, there was a higher proportion of lower status students with a high achievement value orientation. This difference was attributed to the poor validity of the instrument, a different scoring method and to a different sample type.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these studies. The first is that an individual's achievement value orientation is correlated with

educational achievement (Jayasuriya, Sugarman); the second is that a parent's achievement value orientation will have an impact upon their child's educational achievement (Craft); and the third is that achievement value orientation is correlated with social class (Kitchen, Lawlor, Strong and Taylor).

The latter conclusion may be subject to debate because of the findings of Jayasuriya and Sugarman, which indicate that when I.Q. and type of school are held constant, the correlation between achievement value orientation and social class disappears. However, their findings and perhaps Taylor's (as his relate to the high achievement value orientation of lower status students) may be subject to a different interpretation.

Any discussion of the correlation of a variable with social class is based upon an assumption that all or most members of a given social class have common characteristics. For example, members of the lower class are all expected to be characterized by a lower achievement value orientation. However, if it is acknowledged that there is both an objective and subjective dimension to class, i.e., members of a given social class will perceive their material condition differently, it is conceivable that classes consist of disparate groups who can be distinguished by different attributes. For example, the lower classes can be divided into two groups: those having a high achievement value orientation and those having a low achievement value orientation.

Such a model provides the basis for an alternative explanation for the findings of Jasasuriya, Sugarman and Taylor. The students identified by each of these researchers as having a high achievement value orientation are all achievers in school (Taylor's students are

matriculation students). Obviously, if a student's home background (cultural heritage) initiated him into a high achievement value orientation, then he should be a school achiever and would be found in any sample of such. Thus, Jayasuriya and Sugarman's students do not have a high achievement value orientation because they are school achievers; rather their parents have initiated them into an achievement value orientation which has predisposed them to be school achievers. Similarly, it is not surprising that a high proportion of Taylor's sample students were found to have a high achievement value orientation since, without it, they would not have been in the educational program that they were. Sugarman must be alluding to such a relationship when he identified the stimulation of the home as a predictor of achievement value orientation. He also wrote that "one plausible chain of causality is that home affects value and that the latter affects behaviour in school".[36] This study accepts that the student is initiated into a value orientation at home and that that value orientation will have an influence on his school performance.

Resultant Theoretical Model and Hypothesis

It is assumed that the strength of one's achievement value orientation will influence one's propensity for occupational and educational attainment since the higher the achievement-related behaviour and subsequent success. The lower the achievement value orientation, the less the propensity for achievement-related behaviour and the greater the chances of failure.

Similarly, it is assumed that the parent's achievement value orientation will have an impact upon a child's achievement-related behaviour.

The home is the child's primary cultural milieu and it is within this environment that the child is taught how to perceive and respond to his world.

Thus, for this study, two variables are identified as being influenced by the individual's achievement value orientation. The first is the individual's employment status, i.e., whether he is employed or not employed. The second is his child's educational achievement, i.e., whether the child is an achiever or non-achiever in school. In other words, an individual's achievement value orientation is an independent variable which will determine his employment status and his child's school achievement.

However, it must be remembered that, as indicated in the previous chapter, the achievement value orientation is, itself, the outcome of either cultural or situational factors. Considered in this light, an individual's achievement value orientation is a variable that intervenes between certain antecedent variables and the individual's employment status and his child's educational achievement. The following variables are presented as antecedent variables. They can be used to determine if an achievement value orientation is culturally or situationally derived.

(1) Parent's Socio-Economic Status

A contention of this thesis is that the consciousness or awareness of one's material conditions influences one's value orientations. In other words, value orientations are not solely a product of the objective conditions of existence. This assumption would be empirically supported if individuals having the same social status were found to hold differing value orientations. Furthermore, such a finding, in conjunction with the

following variables, would indicate whether the achievement value orientation is culturally or situationally derived.

(2) Parent's Personal Experiences

A culturally derived achievement value orientation predisposes an individual to act in a certain manner. And, barring his inability to act in the prescribed manner, the individual will, throughout his life, respond to and interact with his environment in a consistent manner. In other words, the individual will enjoy non-contradictory types of experience. Thus, if one can show that an individual's experiences are of a type (e.g., a tendency to be continuously employed or unemployed) it can be assumed that he is responding to a social stimuli in a consistent manner. Such a finding would indicate that an achievement value orientation is culturally derived. Conversely, the finding that experience tended to be inconsistent, i.e., different types of experience, would indicate that his achievement value orientation was situationally derived.

(3) Parent's Peer Group Involvement

The existence of collateral relationships which share and support the individual's perceptions and responses to the enviornment is an essential ingredient of the cultural explanation. To be classified as a cultural attribute, value orientations must be shared by one's social peers.

(4) Parent's Educational Attainment

School attainment is, to a great extent, an outcome of behaviour directed towards that end. As such, school attainment is a product of

the individual's achievement value orientation. Thus, a consistent pattern of school achievement could result only if there exists a culturally derived achievement value orientation; if there is a change in the achievement value orientation, i.e., if it is situationally derived, then there would be a concomitant change in behaviour and subsequent school attainment.

(5) Child's Educational Achievement

A child's educational achievement will tend to influence his educational career and certification. As such, it acts as a predictor of social mobility.

The relationships between the preceding variables is summarized in the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Achievement value orientations will be derived either culturally or situationally.

Hypothesis 2. A parent's achievement value orientation is associated with their occupational and educational attainment.

Hypothesis 3. There is an association between a parent's employment status and their achievement value orientation.

Hypothesis 4. There is an association between a parent's employment status and a child's educational achievement.

Hypothesis 5. There is an association between a parent's achievement value orientation and a child's educational achievement.

Hypothesis 6. When controlling for parent's achievement value orientation the association between parent's employment status and child's educational achievement is reduced.

Summary

This chapter has argued that the value system to which an individual subscribes will influence his response to his environment. When this argument is synthesized with the contention of the preceding chapter, the following model is produced:

The individual is initiated into a cultural order, which consists, in part, of a set of value orientations that will predispose him to behave in a prescribed manner. As long as the environment can sustain the cultural order and as long as the individual is capable of behaving in the prescribed manner, his life's career is determined. If the environment cannot sustain the cultural order and/or if the individual is incapable of behaving in the prescribed manner, then the individual will probably create or appropriate an alternative system, which will also determine his life's career.

Thus, no matter what their genesis is, values are the variable intervening between an individual's circumstances and his behaviour. Since this study is concerned with achievement-related behaviour the intervening variable to be considered is the achievement value orientation.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Clyde Kluckhohn, et al, "Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action", in Toward a General Theory of Action, Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).

[2]Ibid., p. 395.

[3]Ibid., p. 400.

[4]Ibid., p. 398.

[5]Ibid., p. 402.

[6]Ibid., p. 410.

[7]Ibid., p. 410.

[8]Ibid., p. 417.

[9]Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Stodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), p. 4.

[10]Ibid., p. 4.

[11]Ibid., p. 8.

[12]Ibid., p. 10.

[13]Ibid., p. 10.

[14]Ibid., p. 11.

[15]Ibid., p. 14.

[16]Ibid., p. 12.

[17]Ibid., p. 16.

[18]Ibid., p. 17.

[19]Fred L. Stodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement", in Talent and Society: New Perspectives in the Identification of Talent, David C. McClelland, et al. (Princeton: D. Van Hostrand Company, Inc., 1959).

[20]Ibid., pp. 186-187.

[21]Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome", in Achievement in American Society, ed. Bernard C. Rosen (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1969).

[22]Ibid., p. 140.

[23]Ibid., p. 141.

[24]Strodtbeck, op. cit., p. 187.

[25]Rosen, op. cit., p. 144.

[26]D.L. Jasasuriya, "A Study of Adolescent Ambition, Level of Aspiration and Achievement Motivation" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Lond, 1960).

[27]B.N. Sugarman, "Social Class and Values as Related to AChievement and Conduct in School", Educational Research, XIV (1966), pp. 287-301.

[28]Ibid., p. 299.

[29]Ibid., p. 298.

[30]Maurice Craft, "Talent, Family Values and Education in Ireland", in Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education, ed. J. Eggleston (London: Methuen and Co., 1974).

[31]Ibid., p. 61.

[32]Hubert William Kitchen, "Relationships Between the Value Orientation of Grade Nine Pupils in Newfoundland and the Characteristics of Their Primary and Secondary Groups" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Alberta, 1963).

[33]S.D. Lawlor, "Social Class and Achievement Orientation", in Social Stratification: Canada, James E. Curtis and William G. Scott (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall of Canada, 1973).

[34]Mary Symons Strong, "Social Class and Levels of Aspirations Among Selected Alberta High School Students" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, the University of Alberta, 1963).

[35]Gerald Dale Taylor, "Social Stratification and Mobility Orientation of Selected Edmonton High School Seniors" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, the University of Alberta, 1971).

[36]Sugarman, op. cit., p. 299.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The first three chapters have identified the theoretical parameters of this study. This chapter will justify the method of study, identify how the variables were operationalized as well as how the data were gathered.

Method of Study

The examination of minority cultures can all too easily be based upon an assumption that its members share the values of the dominant class. When its members fail to live according to those values, then they are labelled as being alienated, deviant or culturally deprived. To understand the values of others, it is necessary to hold one's own values in abeyance and to identify the values of those being observed. Such a process should minimize the denigration of the values of the observed and should further the understanding of the role that those values play in the determination of the poor's behaviour.

The poor are expected to have a value orientation which is different from the dominant class because of their different material conditions and cultural heritage. Social researchers, each members of a particular class, may find it difficult to comprehend fully the motivating process of individuals living their lives in what might be a completely differing frame of reference. There is a grave danger of the social researcher

either interpreting the experiences of the poor according to his own cultural heritage or of his expecting the poor to respond to their environment according to the prescriptions of another class.

Social researchers must also cope with a further complication when they study the poor. The poor may have been initiated into an interpretation of linguistic symbols that are not in complete agreement with the meaning attributed to those symbols by the dominant class. Thus, even though the poor may share the linguistic symbols of the dominant class, their connotative intent may vary.

To understand the poor, it is necessary to identify those values which influence their behaviour. This identification can best be accomplished through an observation of the way in which they perceive and respond to their circumstances and by an awareness of the way in which they use and interpret language. The use of a written, structured questionnaire for the study of the poor has inherent disadvantages: (a) the written questionnaire may be beyond the reading comprehension of the respondents; (b) questions may be presented in a language that is subject to an alternative interpretation by the respondent; (c) questions may be based upon experiences which reflect different value orientations for different groups;[1] and (d) the respondent may respond in what he thinks to be an acceptable manner rather than according to his felt responses. Furthermore, as Moser and Kalton write, the use of structured questionnaires:

> ...becomes questionable when complex phenomena are under study: formal questioning may be too superficial and crude for this task. For this reason alone, informal techniques will continue to be used in much sociological research.[2]

The subject matter of this study can indeed be classified as "complex phenomena".

Consequently, in an attempt to minimize these problems, it was decided to use an unstructured interview method to study the chosen sample. The advantages of this approach are such that it enables the interviewer to: (1) probe the rspondent's responses; (2) determine if he understands the language being used; and (3) verify that the responses actually represent the respondent's experiences and values.

The individual's consciousness of material conditions will determine his value orientations; his value orientations will determine how he will perceive and respond to his environment. Thus, an analysis of the individual's perceptions and responses should provide an indication of the value orientations that gave an impetus to those perceptions and responses. The individual's behaviour is presumed to be at least partly the outcome of an adherence to a particular value orientation.

In order to determine the value orientations of the sample members, a number of items were selected which would focus the interview upon certain aspects of the respondent's life. It was felt that these focused questions and the opportunity they provided for further probing would enable one to gain an accurate insight into the perceptions and experiences of the respondent. This approach is more effective than a structured questionnaire in determining the individual's value orientations. It identifies those behaviours and perceptions which are a manifestation of a value orientation, rather than depending upon the verbalized adherence to a value orientation which may, subsequently, not be translated into action. (See Appendix A for the schedule used.)

An Eco-Map is a diagrammatic tool used to identify the direction, nature and strength of the individual's social interactions. This instrument was completed by the interviewer in order to track and record the

social interactions identified by the respondent. (An example of an Eco-Map is reproduced in Appendix B.)

Sample

The Income Security program of the Province of Alberta is intended to provide its citizens with a certain level of economic support. There is no doubt that the recipients of such benefits are poor and that they will continue to be categorized as poor, at least as long as they remain dependent upon those benefits. Two discrete categories of recipients are: (a) those who depend solely upon those benefits for support; and (b) those whose income requires a supplement to guarantee a minimal standard of living. The latter category do receive an earnings supplement so their actual income may be greater than that of recipients who are not employed; however, it is suggested that employment-related expenses (e.g., clothing and transportation) will offset any differential in income between the employed and unemployed recipient.

In 1978, a family of four who were totally dependent upon income security would have received the actual cost of their shelter and utilities to a maximum of $430 per month. In addition, they would have received an allowance of $284 per month for food, clothing and personal expenses. The same family earning a net earned income of $500 per month would have received an additional premium of $131 per month, a sum which in most cases must pay for the cost, maintenance and operation of a vehicle, for the cost of any additional clothing required for work, and for any other incidental employment-related expenses such as coffee or lunch.

Since a focus of this study is upon a comparison of the attributes

of the working and non-working poor, it is feasible for a sample to be drawn from each category of recipient to represent both classes of the poor. The working poor are those whose income would require a supplement of income security benefits; the non-working poor are those whose support is totally dependent upon the same benefits.

The decision was made to draw such a sample from the records of a Central Alberta District Office of Alberta Social Services and Community Health. This choice was made to ensure that the sample was drawn from integrated communities and to avoid the possibility of the respondents being isolated in a "ghetto" and their children being segregated into "ghetto" schools. It is felt that this choice controls for the effect of community and school upon behaviour.

The following criteria were used in the selection of the working poor parents: employment in excess of twenty hours per week; having children of at least school age (their residence in the home was not taken into consideration); having residence in either the City of Wetaskiwin and its environs, or the Town of Leduc and its immediate environs. Eleven people were selected for this category, almost the total population as defined by the foregoing parameters. One of those selected was unwilling to participate in the interviews. All of these respondents were single mothers. Respondents within this category are listed in Appendix C.

The criteria used in the selection of the non-working poor parents were as follows: total dependence upon Income Security benefits for sustenance; having children of at least school age (residence in the home again was not taken into consideration); being in receipt of benefits for at least twelve months; and having residence in either the

City of Wetaskiwin and its immediate environs or the Town of Leduc and its immediate environs. Eleven people were selected for this sample and again one refused to participate. It is also interesting to note that this sample constituted the great majority of those within this category. Only one of these respondents was living with their spouse; all others were single mothers. (Respondents in this category are listed in Appendix D.)

Once selected, each respondent was contacted by telephone, the interviewer introduced himself, the purpose of the study was explained, their cooperation was requested, and an appointment was made for an interview. Each interview took place in the respondent's own home, lasted from three to four hours, and generally covered the items identified in Appendix A. Because many of the respondents objected to the use of a tape recorder, it was necessary to make handwritten notes as the interview progressed.

This sample cannot and should not be considered representative of any larger population since no attempt to randomly select the respondents was made. But it should also be recognized that selection was made on the basis of the identified criteria; selection was not based upon prior knowledge of the family and its dynamics.

It is also recognized that since there was no matching for family size, it is inappropriate to assume that statistically significant relationships exist between the variables. This study is intended to be exploratory only. Any observed relationships should be subjected to a more rigorous examination to confirm their validity.

Data Analysis

The data were collected in the Spring of 1979 and reduced to a respondent profile. Each profile summarized the respondent's perception and experiences of: (a) their original family relationships; (b) their schooling; (c) their employment; (d) their marriage; (e) their children's schooling; and (f) their present circumstances. (Appendix E is a profile of a non-working poor respondent; Appendix F is a profile of a working poor respondent.)

The analysis of information gleaned from an interview begins at the commencement of the interview - it provides the material for probing and determines the direction which the interview will take. (For example, if the responses suggest that the respondent is characterized by a particular value orientation, a probing and/or challenging of those responses will either confirm or contradict the initial impression.)

The formal analysis commenced with the review of the information gained and its reduction into a profile of the respondent's social history and circumstances. These profiles were then analyzed to determine a rating of the individual according to the achievement value orientation, socio-economic status, experiential, peer, educational and child's educational achievement variables. When a measure of these variables was obtained, it was related to the working/non-working poor dichotomy to determine if there was any indication of an association.

Operationalization of Variables

The variables used in this study have been identified on previous pages. The following is a review of those variables and the way they were operationalized:

1. Employment Status

The working poor, for this study, are those who work in excess of twenty hours a week and whose income is supplemented by income security benefits. The non-working poor are those whose income is solely derived from income security benefits. The child's employment status was not considered in this study.

2. Value Orientations

The achievement value orientation arises from the configuration of four dimensions: the control, future time, individualistic and doing orientations. A higher control orientation was attributed to those respondents whose experiences tended to indicate that they exercised some control over the directions their lives were taking. A lower control orientation was assigned to those respondents who identified their experiences as being predominantly controlled by external forces.

A higher future time orientation was attributed to those who were optimistic about the future, who planned for the future. A lower future time orientation was assigned to those who were fearful of, or had little conception of the future.

A higher individualistic orientation was attributed to those who exhibited a tendency to do things by themselves or of their own initiative. A lower individualistic orientation was assigned to those who exhibited a dependency on others for support or direction.

A higher doing orientation was attributed to those whose behaviour was goal-directed. A lower doing orientation was assigned to those whose behaviour was non-directed or who, apparently, drift from one day to the next.

Where the respondent was assigned a higher orientation on three or more of the preceding orientations, he was assigned a higher achievement value orientation. If he was assigned two higher and two lower scores, then a higher score was assigned when there was a higher doing or control orientation. All other scores were classed as lower achievement value orientations.

3. Parent's Socio-economic Status

An analysis of the profiles will identify the respondent's socio-economic status of origin. To prove that value orientations are not only the product of objective socio-economic criteria, it is necessary to show that despite similar class origins, there are dissimilar value orientations. Thus, if it is shown that there is little difference in socio-economic class backgrounds and that there is a greater difference in achievement value orientations, it can be concluded that cultural factors may be an explanatory variable. The parent's class of origin was extrapolated from their description of their father's occupation. Respondents were classified as being middle class when their fathers were either professionals, employed as white collar workers, self-employed or owned large farms. Respondents were classified as working class when their fathers were employed as blue collar workers or where they operated small farms. Respondents were classified as being raised on transfer payments when their fathers were in receipt of the same.

4. Parent's Personal Experiences

Value orientations derived from a cultural heritage will predispose the individual to respond to his environment in a specific manner. Thus

the individual initiated into a higher achievement value orientation is expected to have experiences that are generally successful. Conversely, if the individual was initiated into a lower-achievement value orientation, he is expected to have unsuccessful experiences. Changes in either of these patterns indicate that the individual's value orientation has ceased to be in harmony with the enviornment or that the individual has been unable to meet the expectation placed on him by his cultural heritage. In either case, the changing pattern is indicative of an emergent situationally-derived value orientation. Constellations of similar experiences are, therefore, considered as evidencing the existence of a cultural explanation of behaviour; constlelations of dissimilar experiences are evidence of a situational explanation of behaviour. The respondents' types of employment experiences were tabulated and compared to provide a measure of this variable.

5. Parent's Peer Group Involvements

To be classed as a cultural value, the value must be shared. The identification of strong peer relationships that support the adherence to a particular value system evidences the existence of a cultural order. The respondents' types of peer involvements were tabulated and compared to provide a measure of this variable.

6. Parent's Educational Attainment

A respondent's level of school attainment is: (a) an indicator of his success in school; and (b) a predictor of his employability. Success in school is the outcome of behaviour directed towards that end. It is, therefore, perceived as being an outcome of the individual's achievement

value orientation, i.e., behaviour is the intervening variable between achievement value orientation and successful school experience. Thus a higher educational attainment is recognized as being the product of a higher achievement value orientation. The parent's reported level of educational attainment was used as a measure of this variable.

7. Child's Educational Achievement

A lower school achievement was ascribed to those children who either repeated a grade, attended special school programs or who dropped out of school. All other children were classified as having a higher educational achievement.

Admittedly, some of the foregoing measures are approximate. This was dictated by the small size of the sample and by the lack of specificity in some of the information gathered. Despite this imprecision, these measures do provide an indication of the direction of the variables analyzed and permit the tentative evaluation of the association between the variables.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the reasons for using the intensive interview. It has also identified the way in which the data were gathered and analyzed, and the way in which the variables were operationalized. The next chapter reports on the analysis of the data.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, Rosen's item, "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives today and lets tomorrow take care of itself." The use of the word "nowadays" may suggest to the poor that because they have lived each day for itself--a factor determined by economic exigencies--they have not been wise, i.e., the use of the word 'nowadays' suggests that the converse was previously the mark of wisdom.

[2]C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (London: Heireman Educational Books, 1973), p. 301.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

Previous chapters have suggested that a person's specific cultural heritage will, normally, determine their value orientation. Exceptions occur when either a discrepancy arises between the individual's environment and the environment within which his culturally-derived value orientation is supposed to be meaningful or when the individual is incapable of meeting the requirements of his value orientation. In either case, the individual will internalize or create a value orientation that will best enable him to mediate his circumstances. Thus, value orientations are either culturally or situationally-derived. They are always a product of the consciousness of material conditions.

Once derived, value orientations will predispose an individual to act in a prescribed manner. The strength of an achievement value orientation will predispose one to act in a manner that will either promote or hinder their success. Furthermore, the achievement value orientation of a parent will have ramifications for the child's school achievement.

The preceding chapter identified the variables to be used to empirically test this theory. A sample consisting of ten working poor and ten non-working poor parents was drawn. Respondents participated in intensive interviews which are to be analyzed according to the following variables: parent's achievement value orientation, parent's socio-economic status,

parent's personal experiences, parent's peer group involvements, parent's educational attainment and child's educational achievement. This chapter will report and discuss the findings resulting from this analysis.

Employment Status and Value Orientations

The achievement value orientation consists of a configuration of the control, future, individualistic and doing value orientations. It is the product of the subjective dimension of material conditions and is the predictor of occupational status and educational attainment. Thus the working poor are expected to have a greater commitment to a higher achievement value orientation and its component parts, than their non-working counterparts.

1. Employment Status and Control Value Orientation

The individual's response to those environmental forces which would impinge upon his activities and choices is indicative of the control orientation to which he subscribes. If the individual attempts to manipulate those forces so that they remain in subjugation to him, then it is assumed that he subscribes to a higher control orientation; should the individual feel that he is subject to those forces and that they are a product of fate, then it is assumed that he subscribes to a lower control orientation.

Eighteen of the twenty respondents had to overcome the trauma of a failed marriage; one had to cope with the trauma of being suddenly widowed. This, of itself, is indicative of the existence of a control orientation. However, the evidence would suggest that the working poor

respondents subscribe to it to a greater extent than the non-working poor respondents.

Barb, a working poor respondent, is afflicted with the crippling disease, Lupus, has a grade nine education and has had no work experience in twenty-five years of marriage. Yet, despite these disadvantages, she has taken a job as a waitress to support herself and her child. She enjoys her independence and single life since it allows her to control the events which shape her life. It is felt that the latter is a reaction to the restriction she had experienced as an abused wife.

Employment, of itself, is indicative of a higher control orientation since the individual has to manipulate one's circumstances to obtain it. However, employment is not a guarantee of a higher control orientation. Betty, another working poor respondent, who feels that she is "just drifting along", obtained her employment as a waitress because the manageress suggested that she might as well serve on tables every day and make some money rather than sitting at a table every day, spending money. Betty cannot be accused of having expended a great deal of effort in manipulating her environment to obtain her employment, nor is "just drifting along" indicative of a conscious mastery over her circumstances.

Few of the non-working poor respondents also exhibit characteristics which would be indicative of their subscribing to a higher control orientation. Alena recognizes that the events of her life, including the more unfortunate ones, have been the product of her own acts. Adele acknowledges strong feelings of helplessness and an inability to change the course that her life was taking; however, she also recognizes that her enrollment in a life skills course was instilling a feeling of confidence and was compensating for her previous feelings of helplessness.

Amy manifests her higher control orientation through her successful challenging of her children's teachers' suggestions and recommendations regarding the children's educational career. When her eldest son's teacher wanted him to take Math 15 she insisted that he take Math 10, which he did. There are, however, other non-working poor respondents who exhibit a different set of attributes. For example, Andrew states that he has been "jinxed" since his marriage and that he is subject to a conspiracy. Recently, the police charged him with arson because of a neighbour who presented false evidence. Arlene blames others for the fact that she has not attended university. She feels that she "doesn't really have a life right now", that she is "at the bottom of the barrel" and that she is trapped. Ann believes that the authorities, police and social workers conspire against her and her family.

Table I indicates that the working poor tend to be characterized by a higher control orientation more frequently than the non-working poor.

TABLE I

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND
CONTROL ORIENTATION

Employment Status	Control Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Working Poor	9	1	10
Non-working Poor	4	6	10
	13	7	20

Nine of the working poor are characterized by a higher control orientation; four of the non-working poor are so characterized. These

findings suggest that there is a reasonably strong association between the control orientation and employment.

2. Employment Status and Future Time Value Orientation

The individual's perception of and approach to the future will be a reflection of his future time value orientation. An optimistic perception of the future and a conscious attempt to direct one's efforts toward the creation of a future are indicative of a higher future time orientation. A fear of the future and a dependence upon the past or present are indicative of a lower future time orientation. Beth, by adhering to the principle that "things will work out when they're worked through", is considered to be characterized by a higher future time orientation. Similarly, Bonnie's willingness to defer immediate spending of the profits from the sale of her home and her expectation that her business will provide an independent means of support, would indicate that she is also characterized by a higher future time orientation. A further example of an individual characterized by such an orientation is Alena who states that "the future is what you make it" and who intends to return to school to upgrade her skills as a means of improving her prospects of employment.

Belinda believes that one should live from day to day and not worry about the future; Bertha tries "not to look into the future" and hopes that "everything will fall into place"; Barb, because of ill health, is fearful of looking into the future; Arlene perceives the future as being more of the same drudgery and that she would be "no further ahead" if she worked. These are examples of respondents who are considered to be characterized by a lower future time orientation.

Again, there are those respondents who are not so readily

characterized. Angela, for example, has found that her plans for the future have rarely worked out and states that, as a consequence, she does not believe in planning too far ahead. However, Angela was in the process of using her child tax credit to pay for a course at NAIT which would qualify her as a hairdresser. Despite her disallowance of the benefits of planning for the future, she is actively involved in an activity that is directed toward the future. In this case, the respondent was considered to have a lower time future value orientation because of her perception of the undesirability of planning for the future.

Table II summarizes the future orientation of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE II

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND FUTURE TIME ORIENTATION

Employment Status	Future Time Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Working Poor	4	6	10
Non-working Poor	5	5	10
	9	11	20

Four of the working poor and five of the non-working poor respondents are characterized by a higher future time orientation. These findings suggest that there is little if any difference between the future orientation and employment status.

3. Employment Status and Individualistic Value Orientation

The individual's desire to act alone, to be free of community restraint, is considered to be indicative of a higher individualistic orientation. The need to act in concert with others, to be part of a community, is considered to be indicative of a lower individualistic orientation.

Eight of the working poor respondents would appear to subscribe to a higher individualistic orientation. Belle left home at seventeen because her presence there was preventing her father's remarriage. Furthermore, her experiences would suggest that she has worked independently of others to improve her educational qualifications and her employment status. Betty avows that she is her "own boss" and that "there's no one dictating anything to me". Bertha is motivated by her will to provide for herself and her daughter and by her belief that "nobody owes you a living". There are exceptions. Bea appears to be very dependent upon the support of a helping agency to help her cope with the exigencies of her position. Brenda does not appear to be able to function without the support of her psychiatrist and friends.

Despite their dependence upon Income Security benefits, six of the non-working poor respondents appear to exhibit a higher individualistic orientation. This is tempered in several cases by their experiences which would suggest that they may have been totally dependent upon their ex-spouses for sustenance and that their apparently high individualistic orientations may in reality be a reflection of their isolation within the community. Ann, for example, had no significant employment record prior to her marriage, none prior to her separation and none subsequent to her separation. She does not participate in community activities,

her only social interactions are with her family. She does, however, state that she is not constrained by others' actions or beliefs and that she does what she feels to be appropriate. Such an attitude would be indicative of a higher individualistic orientation. Similarly, Andrew, who is isolated from his extended family and the community, stresses his individuality.

The other four non-working poor respondents are obviously characterized by a lower individualistic orientation. Amber draws her sustenance from her parents, her experiences suggest that she is unable to function or make decisions without first discussing the issue with her parents. Adele is dependent upon the direction and support of social workers and a life skills coach to guide her through her decisions.

Table III summarizes the individualistic orientation of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE III

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND
INDIVIDUALISTIC ORIENTATION

Employment Status	Individualistic Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Working Poor	8	2	10
Non-working Poor	6	4	10
	14	6	20

Eight of the working poor and six of the non-working poor are characterized by a higher individualistic orientation. These findings suggest that there is a weak association between the individualistic orientation and employment status.

4. Employment Status and Doing Value Orientations

Activities, both past and present, which are focused on the attainment of some socially-sanctioned goal and which are the product of a conscious effort would characterize the individual as having a higher doing-orientation. Unplanned activities, activities without a focus, activities that are participated in without any conscious effort or desire would characterize the individual as having a lower-doing orientation.

Employment can be considered as an indicator of a higher doing orientation, but, of itself, it is insufficient. Betty, for example, obtained employment without any effort on her part. She simply happened to be in a cafe drinking coffee when the manageress offered her a job as a waitress. Betty acknowledges that she is "just drifting along". Her employment was not the product of any conscious effort and her activities, according to her statements, do not have any focus. Such attributes would suggest a lower doing orientation. Brenda only obtained her job as a clerk because she was encouraged to apply by a friend who was aware of the vacancy. Her attitude would also suggest that she puts very little effort or aggressiveness into her employment, "I only have to appear at work and do my job". The impetus for seeking employment was not internally derived, it was the result of someone else's prodding and Brenda does not exhibit any particular assertiveness toward life.

These attributes would also suggest a lower doing orientation.

Betty and Brenda were the exception in the working respondent sample; the others tended to be characterized by a higher doing orientation. Belinda, despite a severe stutter, in an attempt to escape the boredom of being restricted to her home, obtained employment by responding to the classified advertisements in her local paper. Bernice always has to be taking a course to improve her skills of self-awareness. She must constantly be doing something productive and states that she would "go insane sitting doing nothing". Barb, whose physical disability would be sufficient to justify her not working, is almost fanatical in her desire to be self-supporting. These are examples of working respondents who have focused much energy upon activities which achieve socially approved results.

Four non-working poor respondents are characterized by a higher doing orientation. Angela, of her own volition, used her child tax credit to enroll in a program at NAIT in order to gain a training which would enable her to obtain a modicum of independence. Amy is actively involved on one of the Preventive Social Service's boards and actively champions her children's rights at school. Conversely, Ann always wants to do something -- get a job, go to school -- but always has an excuse not to. She does not appear capable of husbanding her energies to take that initial step. Ada has little history of constantly applying herself to achieve a given end. She left school at 17 because she was "tired of going" and because she found it "hard going"; she commenced a hair dressing course but never completed it; and she has tried two different jobs -- one for several months, the other for two weeks.

Table IV summarizes the doing orientation of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE IV

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND
DOING ORIENTATION

Employment Status	Doing Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Working Poor	8	2	10
Non-working Poor	4	6	10
	12	8	20

Eight of the working poor and four of the non-working poor respondents are characterized by a higher doing orientation. These findings suggest a strong association between the doing orientation and employment status.

Employment Status and Achievement Value Orientation

The achievement value orientation score is derived by summing the control, future, individualistic and doing orientation sub-scores. This was achieved with relatively little difficulty for many respondents. Ann scored consistently low on each dimension. The feeling that authorities such as police and social workers are always harassing her and interfering with what she does indicates a lower control orientation; she has little conception or hope of the future -- there will be no significant changes to her life or social environment -- indicates a lower future orientation; her indifference to others' opinions indicates a higher individualistic orientation; and her constant inability, reinforced by

apparently flimsy excuses, to do anything about her verbalized desires -- to get a job or to upgrade her education -- indicates a lower doing orientation. Her score of three lower orientations and one higher orientation yields an overall score indicative of a lower achievement value orientation.

Unfortunately, the achievement value orientation score is not always so obvious. Andrew was difficult to score. He was assigned a low control orientation because of his emphasis on being "jinxed"; a higher future orientation because of his enthusiastic plans to take up sheep farming; a higher individualistic score because of his avowal of the same; and a low doing orientation because of his history of being unable to consistently apply himself to any given task and because of his present lack of involvement in any endeavor. It was decided to assign a lower achievement value orientation since it was felt that more weight should be given to the control and doing orientation.

Table V summarizes the achievement value orientation of the working and non-working poor respondents.

TABLE V

THE ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION OF THE WORKING AND NON-WORKING POOR

Employment Status	Achievement Value Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Working Poor	8	2	10
Non-working Poor	4	6	10
	12	8	20

Eight of the working poor and four of the non-working poor are characterized by a higher achievement value orientation. These findings suggest a strong association between achievement value orientation and employment.

Employment Status and Parent's Socio-Economic Status

This variable is used to determine if there are any differences in the status of origin of the respondents and if such differences are associated with employment status. Table VI summarizes the data on this relationship.

TABLE VI

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND PARENT'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Employment Status	Social Class of Origin			
	Dependence on Transfer Payments	Working Class	Middle Class	
Working Poor		6	4	10
Non-working Poor	1	7	6	10
	1	13	6	20

One non-working poor respondent was raised on transfer payments. Six working poor and seven non-working poor respondents were raised in working-class homes. Four working poor and two non-working poor respondents were raised in middle-class homes. These findings suggest that there is little if any association between socio-economic status of origin and employment status.

Employment Status and Parent's Personal Experiences

This variable was analyzed to see if there were patterns of experience, i.e., did the experience tend to be successful or unsuccessful; is there any association between those patterns and present employment status? Since there are numerous constellations of experiences focused on a specific environmental or social element, it was decided to restrict the analysis to those relating to marriage and employment.

Only one respondent, a non-working poor, is presently married; all the others have had unsuccessful marriages. The reasons for separation are distressfully similar. Either the spouse was an alcoholic, unfaithful or physically abusive. In one case, the marriage was terminated because it was no longer rewarding. In nearly all cases, marriage can be considered as an experience of failure.

This finding would suggest that apart from one respondent, all have experienced some measure of failure in their marriages. Thus, successful marriage cannot be used as a measure of success in this study.

Five of the working poor respondents reported that they had stable employment records prior to their marriage. Two of the non-working poor respondents reported the same fact. In addition, two of the non-working poor respondents reported that they had had a variety of housekeeping jobs; another non-working poor respondent that she had had a clerical position for a while but that she had made "a mess of everything", she also had a job in a car wash for two months; and two other non-working poor respondents reported that they had had many different jobs.

Three of the working poor respondents reported that they had been continuously employed during their marriages; two of the non-working poor respondents stated that they had had some employment during their marriages.

Obviously, all the working poor respondents are currently employed. One is employed as a nurse, another as a social services technician, four are employed as office clerks, two are employed as waitresses, one is employed as a cashier and one is self-employed. All appear to have reasonably stable employment. Two of the non-working poor have had some employment as waitresses since their separation; the one married non-working poor respondent has had numerous jobs, his employment record is unstable.

Table VII summarizes the employment histories of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE VII

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND
EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Employment History	Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Employment prior to marriage	5	7	12
Stable employment prior to marriage	5	2	7
Employment during marriage	3	2	5
Stable employment during marriage	3	0	3
Employment subsequent to marriage	10	3	13
Stable employment subsequent to marriage	10	0	10
	36	14	50

These findings indicate that more of the non-working poor (7) held employment prior to marriage than the working poor (5), but the working poor (5) had more stable employment than the non-working poor (2). During marriage, three of the working poor had stable employment, compared

to two of the non-working who had some employment which was not stable. Similarly, all ten of the working poor respondents are classified as having stable employment, whilst three of the non-working poor have had some non-stable employment. These figures suggest that there is a strong association between histories of stable employment and current employment status.

Employment Status and Parent's Peer Group Involvements

The peer group variable was analyzed for two reasons: a) it could provide affirmation of the thesis that cultural elements determine achievement value orientation. Non-association with others who, since cultural orders must be shared with others, share the same achievement value orientation would challenge the argument supporting the cultural origins of that value orientation; b) peer interactions are, of themselves, constellations of experiences.

All of the working poor respondents reported that their co-workers acted as support personnel; three reported that they were actively involved in organizations that served a supportive function. Seven of the respondents specified that an active social life had developed from their employment.

Three of the non-working poor respondents acknowledged participation in organizations that they found to be supportive; six reported that they had active social lives; four reported that, apart from their families, they were isolated from any community involvements.

Table VIII summarizes the peer involvement of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND PARENT'S
PEER GROUP INVOLVEMENTS

Peer Involvement	Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Co-workers	10	0	10
Informal network	3	0	3
Organizational activity	3	3	6
Social interactions	7	6	13
Involvement apart from nucleus family	10	6	16
	33	15	48

The working poor respondents report a total of thirty-three different types of peer involvement. The non-working poor reported fifteen such involvements. These findings suggest a strong association between peer involvement and employment. The findings relative to "involvements apart from nuclear involvement" raise an interesting issue: four of the non-working poor, according to their own perceptions and activities, are socially isolated. This may indicate an association between social isolation and non-employment.

Employment Status and Parent's Educational Attainment

Educational attainment is a predictor of employability and occupational status. The completion of a prescribed course of studies is also an indication of the individual's level of discipline and perseverance, both of which are important attributes for the gaining of employment. As such, they constitute another constellation of experience.

Table IX summarizes the educational attainment of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE IX

EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND PARENT'S EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational Attainment	Employment Status		
	Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Post Secondary (2 years)	3	1	4
Grade 12	1	1	2
11	3	3	6
10	2	2	4
9	1	1	2
8			
7			
6		1	1
5		1	1
Total	10	10	20
Total years of school	116	99	215
Average	11.6	9.9	10.8

The average amount of schooling for the working poor is 11.6 years, for the non-working poor 9.9 years. These findings suggest an association between educational attainment and employment.

Parent's Employment Status and Child's Educational Achievement

A child's educational achievement is going to have a significant impact upon both his chances of obtaining employment and the type of

employment that he does obtain. Children who do well in school are expected to obtain jobs which will ensure some stability and status. Conversely, children who do not do well in school are not expected to obtain higher status jobs.

Table X summarizes the educational achievement of the children of the working and non-working poor.

TABLE X

PARENT'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND
CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Educational Achievement	Parent's Employment Status		
	Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Higher	71.4% (15)	27.2% (9)	(24)
Lower	28.6% (6)	72.7% (24)	(30)
	(21)	(33)	(54)

An examination of Table X shows that the proportion of working poor children having a higher educational achievement exceeds the proportion of non-working poor children achieving the same by 42.8%, that is 71.4% compared to 28.6%. These findings indicate a strong association between parent's employment status and a child's educational achievement.

Parent's Achievement Value Orientation and Child's Educational Achievement

An examination of Table XI shows that when parents have a higher achievement value orientation the proportion of children being educational achievers is 57.1%. When the parents have a lower achievement value orientation the proportion is 30.8%. The difference of 26.3% indicates that there is a strong association between a parent's achievement value orientation and a child's educational achievement.

TABLE XI

PARENT'S ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION AND CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Child's Educational Achievement	Parent's Achievement Value Orientation		
	Higher	Lower	
Higher	57.1% (16)	30.8% (8)	(29)
Lower	42.9% (12)	69.2% (18)	(30)
	100.0% (28)	100.0% (26)	

Parent's Employment Status and Parent's Achievement Value Orientation

Table XII shows that the proportion of children from working poor homes whose parents have a higher achievement value orientation exceeds the proportion of children from non-working poor homes who have a lower orientation by 55.4% (85.7% compared to 30.3%). These findings suggest a strong association between parent's employment status and their achievement value orientation.

TABLE XII

PARENT'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND PARENT'S ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION

Parent's Achievement Value Orientation	Parent's Employment Status		
	Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Higher	85.7% (18)	30.3% (10)	(28)
Lower	14.3% (3)	69.7% (33)	(26)
	100.0% (21)	100.0% (33)	(54)

Child's Educational Achievement, Parent's Employment Status and Parent's Achievement Value Orientation

The introduction of the achievement value orientation into the original relationship between parental employment status and child's educational achievement yields the anticipated outcome. Table XIII shows that the proportion of working poor children having a higher educational achievement now exceeds the proportion of non-working poor children achieving the same by 27%, that is, 67% to 40%. This is a reduction of 15.8% and indicates that a higher achievement value orientation exists as an intervening variable between a parent's employment status and a child's educational achievement. It is significant that 12 (67%) of the children of the working poor, whose parents have a higher achievement value orientation, are higher school achievers.

An analysis of the effect of a lower achievement value orientation cannot reasonably be made because of the small and, in one case, non-existent, cell sizes. However, it is important to note that 18 (78.3%) of the children of the non-working poor, whose parents have a lower

achievement value orientation, are lower school achievers. This is also a significant statistic.

TABLE XIII

CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT, PARENT'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND PARENT'S ACHIEVEMENT VALUE ORIENTATION

Parent's Achievement Value Orientation	School Achievement	Employment Status		
		Working Poor	Non-working Poor	
Higher	Higher	67% (12)	40% (4)	(16)
	Lower	33% (6)	60% (6)	(12)
Lower	Higher	100% (3)	21.7% (5)	(8)
	Lower		78.3% (18)	(18)
		(21)	(33)	(54)

"Ideal Types" of the Working and Non-working Poor

These findings have, themselves, been analyzed to present profiles of the "average" working and non-working poor person. (Please note that these ideal types should not be confused with the actual profiles presented in Appendices "E" and "F").

The Working Poor Person

This study indicates that a typical working poor individual is a single female parent who has experienced a failed marriage. She would have been raised in a working class home and completed a Grade XI education. It is possible that she worked in a low status occupation before her marriage. Because of her own efforts, or because she was fortunate,

the employment proved to be stable. The stability of that employment provided her with at least one successful experience and may have contributed to her ability and willingness to seek employment at a later date.

Her marriage was a failure. It ended under duress and can only have left her with a feeling of personal inadequacy and failure. The immediate result of the separation was the need to obtain income security benefits to provide the financial means of physical survival and this dependence may have temporarily suppressed her achievement value orientation. However, with the support and perhaps active encouragement of friends, relatives and associates, she found an employment which gave her a measure of independence from the receipt of income security.

The sheer discipline of having to prepare oneself physically and mentally for work gives an additional impetus towards increased self-confidence and a feeling of personal efficacy. Her previous experiences have probably been an outcome of her culturally derived value orientation and her present experiences only serve to reinforce it. She has a strong feeling that she can exert some control over her own destiny and that she can use social forces to her own advantage. She has, however, little conception of the future, which may be attributable to her low status occupation (her Grade XI education limits her employment opportunities). Low status occupations pay low wages that limit one to a precarious financial position. Such a position is made untenable by any unanticipated, yet quite natural, occurrence. Furthermore, there may be a realization that low status jobs are often the most expendable of jobs; the worsening of the economy could likely result in the loss of her job.

Both these factors may make it undesirable to anticipate the future when that future can destroy the foundation upon which today's limited independence is based.

She perceives herself as being independent and having little obligation to others. She resents her dependence upon income security, but appreciates its necessity and is grateful that she can limit that dependence. Her reaction to her previous dependence upon income security and the emancipation achieved through employment reinforce her independence.

Her activities are focused and planned. They require the effort of execution. She is actively involved in some constructive pursuit which can be for self-actualization, self-improvement or career development.

Employment has provided her with an access to associates who give her personal support and an avenue for social activities. In addition, she may experience relationships with intimate friends who provide ongoing encouragement and participate in an organization (e.g., alanon, single parent groups, church organizations, etc.) helping her to cope with the problems of her life.

The educational attainment of her children is sufficient, providing they persevere with their studies, to guarantee their obtaining an educational attainment which will give them access to higher status occupations. Such occupations will enable them to enjoy some measure of social mobility and will, therefore, enable them to escape the poverty of their mother.

The Non-working Poor Person

The typical non-working poor individual examined in this study is

again a single female parent who has experienced a failed marriage. She would also have been raised in a working class environment but she would have completed only a Grade X education.

It is probable that she worked in a series of low status occupations before her marriage. This lack of occupational stability deprived her of the opportunity of learning and appreciating those skills which are necessary for the holding of regular employment. Furthermore, the lack of stable employment reinforced her lower achievement value orientation. Both factors may have had an impact upon her subsequent inability or unwillingness to obtain continuous employment.

Her marriage failed under dismal circumstances and she, like the working poor person, had to restructure her life while surviving on income security benefits. Friends, relatives and associates were supportive at this time of personal stress. However, there was no recognized or consistent encouragement to become financially self-supporting.

She tends to believe she has very few rational choices and that events are generally beyond her personal control. She may also feel that she is a pawn in the conspiracy of more powerful persons, or that "luck" plays a significant role in the determination of her life chances. Whatever the reason, she strongly believes that her life's progression is subject to the control of external forces. It should, however, be remembered that two significant areas of her life -- employment and marriage -- by denying her the experience of controlling her own destiny, may have greatly reinforced this feeling of inefficacy.

Strangely, she has a belief that the future holds a personal promise. This can be accounted for by the realization that either her predicament

is the product of "bad luck" -- and luck does change in time -- or that when one is at the bottom of the status hierarchy, the only place to go is up.

She has a tendency to withdraw from any extensive community and social interactions. Such a tendency can contribute towards an exaggerated sense of personal independence, which is, in reality, little more than a self-imposed social isolation. The social intercourse that she does enjoy does provide her with some friendships, but, unlike the friends of the working poor person, these friends do not actively promote or encourage her self-sufficiency.

The lack of a control orientation and extensive support networks tend to produce a feeling of lethargy where she feels, because of either personal or material limitations, unable to direct her efforts toward some constructive pursuits. She does take care of her own and her children's immediate needs. Unfortunately, there is little energy left for directing her efforts toward any other constructive goal. Essentially, she is oppressed by her circumstances and she does not have the resources available to overcome the oppression.

Her children do not do well in school. They are either placed in special education classes, steered into vocational programs or they drop out of school at the earliest opportunity. Their chances of obtaining the educational certification necessary for entry into a higher status occupation, consequently, are diminished. They face the very real prospect of being condemned to their mother's poverty.

Discussion

These findings indicate that there is an association between employment status and achievement value orientation. The working poor tend to have a higher achievement value orientation than the non-working poor. It is a relationship that holds for the control, individualistic and doing orientations. What little association there is suggests that the non-working poor may tend to have a higher future time orientation than the working poor. This finding can perhaps be explained by the precariousness of the societal position of the working poor. They realize that their financial and occupational status is marginal. An unanticipated expense or a downswing in the economy can deprive them of all that they possess. Consequently, it is better to live with what you have rather than think of the insecurity of the future. Conversely, the non-working poor, because they have little to lose, are free to dream of tomorrow's improvements.

The only safe conclusion to draw from an analysis of the socio-economic status variable is that a middle-class background is no hedge against poverty (30% of the respondents came from such backgrounds). There appeared to be little association between class of origin and employment status. Employment status, according to these findings, is not simply the outcome of objective class criteria. Consequently, it must be assumed that other variables account for employment status. These findings fail to negate the theory that there are cultural factors within the home which may be associated with employment status.

This study indicates that the working poor respondents have enjoyed more positive experiences than the non-working poor resondents and that they subscribe to a higher achievement value orientation. Such a finding

would be consistent with the cultural explanation of behaviour, i.e., the individual is initiated into an achievement value orientation which will predispose him to act in a certain manner. Thus the employment, educational and peer experiences are predictable, given the achievement value orientation that the individual has been socialized into. The consistent patterns of experience, for example, an ongoing history of stable employment, can only occur if one has been socialized to approach work in an appropriate manner. Inconsistent patterns of experience, for example, a change from a transient to a stable history of employment, would be indicative of situational variables.

But it must also be remembered that no matter what their nature, these experiences will tend to reinforce the existing achievement value orientation. Positive experiences of the working poor will reinforce their higher achievement value orientation. Similar contentions can be made for the experiences of the non-working poor and the value orientations to which they subscribe. The denial of positive experiences and/or the enjoyment of negative experiences will reinforce their lower achievement value orientation. The reinforced achievement value orientation will have an effect upon the individual's subsequent behaviours. Such a relationship would tend to be socially acceptable for the working poor -- they and their children would continue to strive to participate in the great industrial enterprise. In the case of the non-working poor, such a relationship would be calamitous and undesirable. It will ensure their continued dependence upon the beneficence of society and would further erode their ability to seek and maintain gainful employment. Furthermore, the continued existence of such dynamics could have disastrous implications for the educational attainment of the children

of the non-working poor.[1]

To reiterate, the study found indications of an association between employment status and achievement value orientations; working poor parents tend to have higher achievement value orientations than non-working poor parents. Certain issues did arise from these findings and must be elaborated upon.

The direction of the relationship has been subjected to an extensive debate. Does a person work because he has a higher achievement value orientation, or does he have a higher achievement value orientation because he works? The relationship is mutually reinforcing and it is felt the impetus to work does come from having a higher achievement value orientation. The question has greater significance when related to the non-working poor. Many people are in receipt of benefits because of circumstances beyond their control: illness, separation, death, occupational redundancy. They may have had, until that point in time, a higher achievement value orientation. They may intend their recipience of benefits to be of a temporary duration but, in many cases, recipience is permanent. The question then becomes: Are there institutional forces which perpetuate the individual's recipience of benefits and which reduce the individual's achievement value orientation? Beth, a working poor respondent, stated that Income Security Benefits lowered her self-esteem more than Unemployment Insurance Benefits. Most respondents felt that receipt of benefits was an undesirable necessity. Such a feeling cannot fail to reduce the individual's self-concept. And yet it is interesting that Beth did not feel that same self-denigration when she was receiving Unemployment Insurance Benefits. There is a difference. Unemployment Insurance Benefits are dependent upon the individual's contributions and

there are certain obligations demanded of the recipient. For Income Security Benefits, there are no readily identifiable contributions or obligations. Perhaps the right to Income Security Benefits without any concomitant obligations reinforces the negative nature of the experience. Further studies are necessary to determine the essence of these relationships. It is suggested that a longitudinal and experimental study (Income Security with obligations) would provide a further insight into this phenomena.

Of the variables examined, only parent's socio-economic status, insofar as it is used to determine the status or origin, is immutable. The others, even though they are the manifestation of historical facts, do not need to remain constant. An individual's education, experiences, peer group relationships, and value orientations are variables that can undergo change. Experiences are incremental but they need not necessarily be a reaffirmation of their historical antecedents.

The experiences that an individual has need not be restricted to experiences of success or failure. For many, experiences are mixed and changeable. If an individual who has consistently been unable to enjoy successful experiences is exposed to a successful experience, it can completely change his outlook. This phenomenon was particularly observed with the working poor. Several took great pains to express the change that stable employment had wrought upon their attitudes.

Six of the working poor suggested that employment improved their confidence and self-concept. Belinda even suggested that this improvement alleviated her stuttering. Bertha stated that employment "takes the mind off self-pity". Bernice suggested that the longer one is dependent upon Income Security, the "more scared of the outside" one becomes, and that one "goes backwards and not forwards". She also

contended that when employed, "you take care of yourself, you'll look good, and you'll do good". Her final statement was "misery attracts misery".

Finally, Brenda perceived that "work is spiritually satisfying"; that "it (employment) lifts my spirits"; that she is "doing something productive"; and that work has allowed her to escape from a feeling of being trapped. Before her employment, this respondent felt that she was dissatisfied with herself, that she was letting her appearance deteriorate, and that she was becoming a "frump".

It is significant that these six respondents had, at some time, been completely dependent upon Income Security for their sustenance. If there is any validity to these contentions, then for many, complete dependence upon Income Security Benefits is characterized by a loss of confidence, self-esteem and self-worth. Such experiences could not help but have a serious impact upon the individual's achievement value orientation. Many of the respondents credited this change in perspective to the existence of peers who encouraged them to be self-sufficient. For example, Brenda had found employment due to the direction and support of a friend, who had notified her of a vacant clerical position. It was observed that the working poor respondents tended to have more extensive support systems than the non-working poor respondents, who tended to be more isolated. Furthermore, those non-working poor respondents who were showing indications of change acknowledged the role played by friends. Angela had working friends who acted as impetus for her to enroll in a hairdressing course. Alena had a working boyfriend, her association with him and his friends made her feel inadequate. To remedy that feeling of inadequacy, she intends to seek educational upgrading.

Not only friends provide an impetus to change. The impetus can also come from professionals. Bertha attributes part of the credit for her employment to a concerned social worker. Adele credits a social worker with both helping her realize that there were opportunities available to her and supporting her in her decision to take advantage of them. She is now enrolled in a life skills course and intends to take upgrading.

Thus, change does in part appear to be related to the kind of peer relationships that the individual has. Consequently, it is suggested that if the non-working poor are to change, then there must be some exposure to and interaction with peers who can provide the necessary support and encouragement. If there are no friends or family members who can fulfill that function, then the community will have to ensure that the necessary support and encouragement is available to the family.

Positive peer relationships not only provide support and encouragement, they also provide a positive experience. The intervention of such a relationship can have direct consequences for the experiences of an individual and an indirect consequence for the achievement value orientation to which he subscribes.

It has been stated that education is an important prerequisite for employment. It was also observed that the working poor respondents had achieved a higher level of educational attainment than the non-working poor respondents. Such a relationship indicates that the non-working poor need to avail themselves of and have available educational opportunities which would enable them to improve their skills. To some extent, these opportunities are available; however, the knowledge of their availability may be lacking. For example, Angela would not have had to use her own financial resources to attend her hairdressing course

if she had been aware of the resources provided by governmental agencies. Several other non-working poor respondents were also unaware of the opportunities available.[2]

Academic and vocational training may not be sufficient to improve the employability of the unemployed. It was felt that several respondents did not possess the personal attributes required for employment. Some type of life skills or employment readiness training is required. Andrew had taken such a course and felt it to be beneficial. Adele is presently enrolled in such a course and finds that it is invaluable. Schooling needs to go beyond the academic and vocational training of the poor; it must also incorporate elements which will enable the poor to participate in the mainstream of life. Such a process would have to ensure that the experiences gained reinforced success and that they were devoid of failure. The non-working poor have experienced enough failure, enough lack of success; a continuation of the same will only serve to further reinforce their predicament.

The children of the working poor do tend to have a higher level of educational achievement than the children of the non-working poor. There is also evidence to support the contention that the achievement value orientation of a child's parents acts as an intervening variable in the determination of the child's educational achievement.

By attaining a higher level of education, the children of the working poor will gain access to those employments which provide an opportunity for upward mobility -- a mobility that could free them from the exigencies of poverty. Educational experiences of this type reinforce the achievement value orientation of the individual in a positive manner. It is also recognized that the achievement value orientation of the

working poor is going to be similar to that of their parents and that it can be either a product of their own experiences or of their cultural heritage which has been supported by personal experiences.

The children of the non-working poor do not enjoy those educational experiences which are necessary to qualify them for higher status occupations. Indeed the findings would suggest that the level of education attained by these children would only qualify them for marginal employment with its attendant insecurity and/or low pay. Employment of this type would result in the children of the non-working poor being denied social mobility (i.e., they would not be able to enter into the beneficence of the middle class -- they would remain outsiders looking in) and in their having limited experiences of success.

Such dynamics can only be expected to perpetuate the cycle of poverty. At the very least, these children will be aware of the values of the dominant society and will be capable of governing their behaviours according to them; however, because they are unable to be socially mobile and because they tend to have a limited experience of socially-sanctioned success, they will develop or appropriate these attributes which will best enable them to mediate their environment. According to this formulation, the end product will be children characterized by those value orientations which provided the rationale for their parents' existence.

An alternative scenario would suggest that children have already been socialized into the value orientations of their parents and that this accounts for their low level of educational achievement. This argument would suggest that we are witnessing the birth of a culture of poverty whose adherents are severely limited in their ability to take advantage of the opportunities proferred them by a dominant society.

There may, however, be other factors. Several of the working poor respondents stated that having to go to work made them take better care of themselves, that they had to discipline and prepare themselves for work. Such statements would imply that before being employed, they did not take as much care of themselves. If they did not take care of themselves, discipline and prepare themselves, then what implication would that have for their children? What kind of role model was presented to the children? A working poor respondent, Bertha, observed that a non-working poor associate often failed to clothe or feed her children adequately and that she often failed to ensure that the children attended school regularly and on time. Such practices would be detrimental to a child's educational achievement. Consequently, any future study of this phenomenon should examine the care that a child receives, the number of absences from school and the number of times late for school.

The school, if it is to be an effective means of social mobility, must be cognizant of, and accepting of the child's environment. The school may also need to go beyond the traditional curriculum and teach the child, and preferably his family, those social and learning skills which will enable the child to mediate the school successfully.

Unfortunately, it is doubtful whether the school can achieve these ends by itself. Poverty is a product of social and economic policy; its eradication is only possible through the reviewing and amending of that policy. If an individual chooses poverty, then so be it. However, if institutional forces condemn a child to poverty, then those forces must be removed.

Chapter III proposed six hypotheses. This summary will now focus on the findings as they relate to each hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1. Achievement value orientations will be either culturally or situationally derived.

The findings of this chapter indicate that there is little association between the parent's socio-economic status and their present employment status. This finding would suggest there is little support for the cultural explanation of the genesis of values. However, the parent's personal experiences, peer involvements and educational attainments indicate that for some respondents, life histories exhibit a tendency to be of uniform types. For others the experiences tended to be dissimilar. These latter findings suggest that value orientations are either culturally or situationally derived.

Hypothesis 2. A parent's achievement value orientation is associated with their occupational and educational attainment.

The study showed that there was an association between educational attainment and employment status. There was however insufficient data to examine the relationship between a parent's achievement value orientation and their occupational and educational attainment.

Hypothesis 3. There is an association between a parent's employment status and their achievement value orientation.

The working poor respondents tended to have a higher achievement value orientation than the non-working poor. This hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 4. There is an association between a parent's employment status and a child's educational achievement.

The children of the working poor tended to be higher school achievers than the non-working poor. This hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 5. There is an association between a parent's achievement value orientation and a child's educational achievement.

Children whose parents had a higher achievement value orientation tended to be higher school achievers. This hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 6. When controlling for parent's achievement value orientation the association between parent's employment status and child's educational achievement is reduced.

When the parent's achievement value orientation variable was controlled the association between parent's employment status and child's educational achievement was reduced. This hypothesis is supported.

Summary

This study found that there are differences between the working and non-working poor. Of particular significance is the difference between parent's achievement value orientation and the child's school achievement. It is felt that these differences are to the advantage of the working poor and that it increases their potential for social mobility. It is feared that these differences are inimical to the non-working poor for they are condemned to their poverty.

FOOTNOTES

[1]These comments are not intended to justify the existence of a substantial part of the population living on a subsistence income. It is deplorable, especially in an affluent society, that a minimum wage is insufficient to guarantee a reasonable standard of living.

[2]There is no intention to imply that these opportunities should only be made available to the non-working poor. They should be available to all who require or desire them.

CHAPTER VI

SOME COMMENTS ON THE FINDINGS, METHODOLOGY AND DIRECTIONS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

Introduction

It was the contention of this study that achievement value orientation is a product of either cultural or situational factors; that it provides the impetus for an individual's achievement related behaviours; and that the achievement value orientation of an individual has an impact upon his child's school achievement.

As hypothesized, there did appear to be a correlation between achievement value orientation and employment; between experiences, education, peer group relationships and children's educational achievement; between a parent's employment status and his child's educational achievement and between a parent's achievement value orientation and his child's educational achievement.

Such findings suggest that the subjective dimensions of class will have as great an impact upon the individual's behaviour as the objective spects. The repertoire of social skills is based upon the value orientations of the individual which are, in turn, based upon either his social experiences or cultural heritage. The child of that individual will be socialized into the value orientation of his parent and unless there is an intervention to ensure that he does not experience the stimuli of his parent, he will go through life sharing his parent's attributes.

Poverty does, admittedly, place the poor at a severe social

disadvantage. It limits their opportunity to enjoy many of the experiences of the middle class and inhibits their ability to compete with them on an equal footing for social and material advantages. However, some of the poor are more disadvantaged than others. The working poor equip their children with a set of attributes that will enable them to gain some improvement in their lot. The children of the non-working poor are equipped with a set of attributes that ensures their continued poverty. Such an interpretation of social dynamics implies that upward mobility is a slow incremental process, whereas the downward descent can be meteoric.

The other implication, which could be a cause of great concern, is that there exists a class of poor children who are condemned by institutional forces to remain in poverty. There are, at present, no social-economic or educational programs capable of counter-balancing the stimuli perpetuating the cycle of poverty. In an enlightened, affluent society, such a situation is intolerable.

An effort must be made to identify, isolate and understand the dynamics of these institutional forces. Such an end can only be achieved through an understanding of poverty and the poor. It cannot be achieved through political or philosophical posturing.

A policy for the poor cannot be based upon some abstract concept or rights. It can only be based upon those principles which will ensure the ultimate integration of the poor into society as contributing members of that society. It has to be based upon those concepts which will enable the poor to be upwardly mobile. In other words, a policy for the poor must be cognizant of and compensate for both the subjective and objective dimensions of poverty.

The Costs of Poverty

When describing the lot of the poor, it is sometimes difficult to avoid being maudlin in praising the virtues, humour and simplicity of the "noble savage" or the "independent yeoman". Such images gloss over the viciousness of poverty and its attendant want, hunger, cold, sickness and early death. These images ignore the exclusion, discrimination and paternalism to which the poor are subjected.

Poverty exists because there is an unequal distribution of resources which may, to some extent, be justified. However, gross inequalities that are supported and perpetrated by institutional forces only serve to exacerbate social cleavages and increase the alienation of the poor.

Poverty has its costs for both the poor and society as a whole. The poor do not enjoy the material advantages of an affluent society. Income Security Benefits ensure that, generally, they avoid the ravages of hunger and cold and that they are not denied access to medical services and schooling. But an unwise expenditure or an unexpected expenditure can severely limit their ability to obtain the basic necessities of life. Furthermore, despite the availability of Income Security Benefits and the universal accessibility to both medical services and schooling, it is a fact that the poor are not as well housed, as well educated and as healthy as the rest of society.

These, then, are the more discernible products of poverty, but they are not the most damaging. A far greater cost accrues to the poor because of their exclusion and subjugation to discrimination and paternalism. The poor do not possess the credentials, both educational and social, which will allow them to gain access to the dominant class. Unfortunately, these credentials are determined by the dominant class

and have little, and sometimes no bearing upon what is necessary for the task on hand. (In effect, the irrelevance of some credentials can be interpreted as being manifestations of the dominant class's discriminatory tendencies since the credentials appear to be in opposition to the values and lifestyle of the poor.) To overcome this exclusion, the poor must embrace the culture of the dominant class and disavow their own. If they are not willing to pay such a price, they will remain poor.

Discrimination can be both obvious and subtle. It can be practised by either individuals or institutions. Unfortunately, one of the institutions responsible for social integration and the grooming of individuals for social mobility, i.e., the school, is guilty of discriminating against the poor. The school is a tool of the dominant class and is used to perpetuate and legitimize their values. School curriculum is based upon the perceptions and experiences of the dominant class, and as such has little relevance to, or comprehension of the poor. Thus the poor, upon entering school, immediately are placed at a disadvantage in the pursuit of school achievement because they are not as familiar with the symbols of the school as their dominant class counterparts. Since social mobility, i.e., the escape from poverty, is predicated upon school attainment, the poor are doomed to their poverty because of their inability to successfully mediate an alien school environment.

The dominant class is aware of the deprivation of the poor and it does attempt to alleviate this social malaise. Of itself, this is a laudable goal; however, its solutions are imposed. The dominant class decides what is good for the poor and helps them accordingly. Unfortunately, the ensuing prescriptions and proscriptions again are based upon the experiences and perceptions of those who generally have never been

poor. The poor are rarely consulted when their lives and habitat are subjected to the "charitable" ministrations of the dominant class.

Exclusion, discrimination and paternalism are a denigration of the culture and abilities of the poor. They constantly reaffirm the inferiority of the poor and ensure that the poor are not equal partners within society. The existence of these social dynamics guarantees the perpetuation of class difference, the lack of dialogue between classes and that the children of the poor will remain poor.

It is easy to write that, fortunately, some of the poor do have an achievement value orientation which will enable them to escape their poverty. It is unfortunate that such a statement obscures the fact that poverty continues to exist and that many of the poor will never experience any other life style.

Poverty also has a cost for Canadian society as a whole, not the least of which are the human costs just described. There are also great financial costs.

But, perhaps it is time to accept that these are the financial costs of a technological society which makes the unskilled and uneducated redundant in its striving for efficiency, progress and profit. The poor are the casualties of a profit-oriented, industrial society and, as such, society should be willing to pay the cost for their reintegration into the mainstream of society.

Methodology

The basic methods used in this study are felt to be sound. The unstructured questionnaire, focusing on the individual's experiences, is more reliable for gaining an indication of value orientation than a

structured questionnaire. What is experienced and what is perceived are better indicators of behaviour than a verbalized response to a hypothetical question. The unstructured questionnaire has two distinct advantages: 1) it allows for the probing of response; and 2) it allows for better comprehension of the questions on the part of the respondent. In many cases, the poor are not well educated and cannot grasp, understand, or in some cases read a structured questionnaire.

There are some residual doubts about the validity of some aspects of achievement value orientation (not of the achievement value orientation itself). The concept of measuring values by what has been done is an incorporation of a doing orientation. In addition, the control orientation is indicative of a reflexive or a planned act; thus the determination of a doing orientation is a redundant exercise. The parameters of the individualistic orientation could perhaps do with a further refinement due to the confusion that arose between the isolation of the individual, which may after all be an enforced individualism, and individualism as the product personal initiative.

Concern has been expressed about the use of value orientations in the study of an homogeneous society such as Canada. This writer has reservations about these claims to homogeneity. It would appear that modern society is subjected to two competing forces. The first is the common desire, fueled by mass media, to consume. Individuals are impelled toward this one end. Obviously, such a single-minded purpose tends to reflect a common value orientation, i.e., a value orientation that directs individuals to behave in a manner which will enable them to consume the material benefits of society. This scenario would suggest that there is little value in attempting to discriminate groups according

to their value orientations, since society consists of a common aggregate that shares a common value orientation.

Unfortunately (or, depending upon one's point of view, fortunately) there is a second social force. Consumer goods and the access to them are limited. They are only obtained by those who successfully compete for them. Competition, by nature, ensures that there will be those who do not succeed, who do not achieve their desired ends. Individuals are not fools; they will see the stupidity of continuing to participate in a competition that can only result in their continued failure. Therefore, they will appropriate or create an alternative value orientation, an orientation that will enable them to successfully mediate their circumstances.

It is suggested that value orientations cannot be used to discriminate between those who enjoy some success in the competition for material goods. In other words, regardless of socio-economic status, individuals who are to some extent successful in obtaining consumer goods will share a similar value orientation. However, value orientations are a useful tool for discriminating between those who are successful and those who are unsuccessful in such a competition.

It is therefore concluded that value orientations are a valuable tool in predicting the individual's propensity for social mobility. They enable the researcher to discriminate between those who will act in an achievement-related manner and those who will not.

Several of the measures used could also be subject to further refinement. Blishen's "Socio-Economic Index for Occupation in Canada" could be used to obtain a more accurate ranking of status or origin. The scores of standardized achievement tests could be used to more

accurately reflect the school achievement of children. A more rigorous examination could be made of the number and nature of peer and community interactions (for example, the determination of the number and frequency of certain types of interaction within the past month).

Furthermore, by ensuring the random selection of a sufficiently large sample and by using more precise techniques of measurement, results could be subjected to a statistical analysis to determine their validity and their relationship to the universe.

Future Research

This study raises significant issues which should be researched more extensively. Of particular importance is the indication that the children of non-working poor parents may not achieve as high a level of education as the children of the working poor. The reason for such a differential needs to be identified so that the situations which produce such an injustice can be ameliorated.

Related to the foregoing is a need to determine if the institution of Income Security is itself a determinant of continued dependence on those benefits. There needs to be an examination of its effects as they relate to the behaviour of the recipient and as they affect the children of the recipient. Indeed, it is necessary to determine if existing Income Security programs are creating and perpetuating a culture of poverty.

These are important issues and they have serious ramifications for the continued integration of society and for the welfare of its members. A failure to address these issues can only result in heightening the tensions between those who enjoy the benefits of an affluent society

and those who are denied such benefits.

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APPENDIX A

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1) What kind of things are important to you?

2) What don't you like?

3) Please tell me about yourself and your childhood. (This item was intended to elicit responses about the respondent's parents, siblings, strength of family ties; the economic status of respondent's family; the respondent's success in school and the reason for leaving school).

4) What kind of work experiences have you had? (The intent of this item was to elicit responses as to the reasons for going to work, the type of employment chosen, and the reasons for leaving employment).

5) Please tell me about your marriage and children. (The intent was to elicit responses about the reasons for marriage and separation; and to determine the children's level of educational attainment).

6) What do you want for your children? (The intent was to elicit responses about the reasons for marriage and separation; and to determine the children's level of educational attainment).

7) What do you think of the welfare system?

8) How would you improve the welfare system? (The intent of this and the previous question was to elicit responses which would be indicative of the extent of dependence upon Income Security Benefits).

9) Why do you choose to work/stay at home?

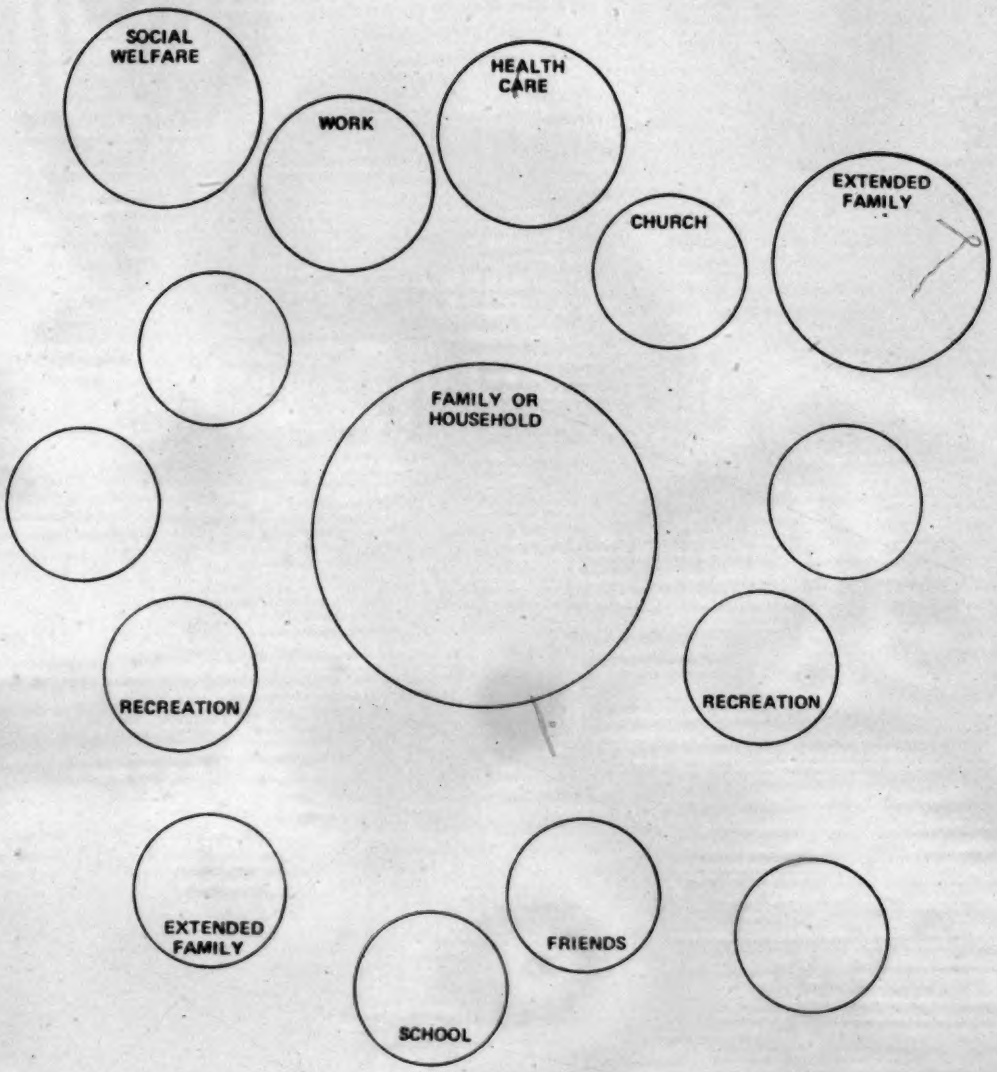
10) What does the future hold for you?

11) Do you have any serious health problems?

12) Do you participate in any community activities?

APPENDIX B

ECO-MAP[1]



Fill in connections where they exist.
Indicate nature of connections with a descriptive word or by drawing different kinds of lines:
——— for strong, - - - - - - for tenuous, ⫽⫽⫽⫽⫽⫽ for stressful.
Draw arrows along lines to signify flow of energy, resources, etc. →→→
Identify significant people and fill in empty circles as needed.

[1]From Hartman, Ann, "Diagrammatic Assessment of Family Relationships", p. 465.

APPENDIX C

WORKING POOR RESPONDENTS

Respondent	Sex	Child(ren)	Age(s)	Employment	Full/Part-time
Bea	F	Son Son	11 yrs. 11 yrs.	Nurse	Full-time
Belle	F	Son Son Son	8 yrs. 6 yrs. 4 yrs.	Stenographer	Full-time
Beth	F	Son	11 yrs.	Social Services Technician	Full-time
Betty	F	Son Son	11 yrs. 8 yrs.	Waitress	Full-time
Belinda	F	Son Daughter Daughter	10 yrs. 8 yrs. 5 yrs.	Secretary	Full-time
Bertha	F	Daughter	14 yrs.	Baker's Helper	Part-time
Bonnie	F	Son Son Daughter	14 yrs. 10 yrs. 8 yrs.	Self-employed: Art Shop	Full-time
Bernice	F	Son Son Daughter	20 yrs. 17 yrs. 16 yrs.	Driving Instructor	Varies, mostly part-time
Barb	F	Son Son Son Daughter	24 yrs. 19 yrs. 18 yrs. 11 yrs.	Bar Maid	Part-time
Brenda	F	Son Son	9 yrs. 5 yrs.	Clerk	Full-time

$\bar{x}$ family size 2.4

$\bar{x}$ age 11.2 years

APPENDIX D

NON-WORKING POOR RESPONDENTS

Respondent	Sex	Child(ren)	Age(s)
Andrew	M	Son	13 yrs.
		Son	11 yrs.
		Daughter	9 yrs.
		Daughter	7 yrs.
		Son	2 yrs.
Alena	F	Daughter	9 yrs.
		Daughter	8 yrs.
		Son	5 yrs.
		Son	3 yrs.
		Son	1 yr.
Arlene	F	Son	13 yrs.
		Daughter	11 yrs.
Alice	F	Daughter	24 yrs.
		Daughter	22 yrs.
		Daughter	21 yrs.
		Son	20 yrs.
		Daughter	19 yrs.
		Daughter	17 yrs.
		Son	16 yrs.
		Son	14 yrs.
Ada	F	Daughter	11 yrs.
		Son	6 yrs.
Amber	F	Son	11 yrs.
		Daughter	9 yrs.
Angela	F	Daughter	7 yrs.
		Son	6 yrs.
Adele	F	Daughter	17 yrs.
		Son	15 yrs.

APPENDIX D (cont'd)

Respondent	Sex	Child(ren)	Age(s)
Ann	F	Son	19 yrs.
		Daughter	18 yrs.
		Daughter	17 yrs.
		Daughter	16 yrs.
		Son	13 yrs.
Amy	F	Son	16 yrs.
		Son	15 yrs.
		Daughter	11 yrs.
		Son	11 yrs.

$\bar{x}$ family size 3.7

$\bar{x}$ age 12.5 years

APPENDIX E

PROFILE OF A NON-WORKING POOR RESPONDENT

Alice

Respondent was raised in a small rural French-Canadian community where Roman Catholicism was the dominant religion.

She remembers her childhood with happiness and recalls the pleasant carefree relationships she had had with her cousin. Her childhood was typified by the lack of material possessions-- clothes were handed down by a childhood comrade--and by a lack of conflict. These 'golden days' were perceived as being diametrically opposed to contemporary childhood, where children fight, must have new clothes and generally hang around street corners.

Her father died when she was five, leaving her mother to raise five children on a widow's pension, which failed to provide adequate benefits (they were far inferior to the benefits provided by the current Income Security program). A step-sister and brother were the result of a subsequent union. Respondent feels that she has a close relationship with her three surviving full sisters; however, she has little awareness of her step-siblings.

Respondent attended a convent school, which was run by the nuns and which placed emphasis upon "French and religion". There was "...no real schooling ... you know how it is". She left school at the age of fourteen. Her older brother completed grade 10, one sister completed grade 5, another grade 8, and another grade 10. She is unaware of the

educational attainment of her step-siblings.

She mentions that her mother never said very much, was not supportive of schooling, and considered going to work far more important.

Upon leaving school, respondent went to work on the farms, either housecleaning or fieldwork. This employment sometimes took her away from home; enabled her to support herself; enabled her to buy the clothes that had previously been beyond her means; and enabled her to enjoy herself. Again, this was a period of happiness for the respondent.

At the age of nineteen, the respondent married a man twenty-one years her senior and quit work. They had eight children: a daughter, 24, who completed grade 11 and who is married with two children; a daughter, 22, who completed grade 11, is divorced and presently unemployed; a daughter, 21, who had to get married at the age of fifteen after completing grade 9 and who has since been divorced and is now living common-law; a son, 20, who completed grade 9 and is presently unemployed; a daughter, 19, who completed grade 10 and is presently unemployed and living common-law; a daughter, 17, who quit school in grade 10 and is now unemployed; a son, 16, who is now in grade 9, having repeated a grade; and a son, 14, who is having difficulties in grade 7.

Respondent would have liked her children to have had more schooling so that they could have had more meaningful employment; however, she feels that she has been unable to exert any influence over her children in this matter. "...the kids have always done what they want to". This used to bother her, but she is now resigned to it.

Respondent states that she has been on welfare for "...quite a long time". (Departmental records show that she has been in receipt of Provincial Benefits since 1973.) A widow since 1976, respondent "hates

being on welfare" and feels that it is "not right" and that "people on welfare are nothing". She would rather be self-supporting, but suggests that she has never had a chance to be so. The benefits are sufficient even though "there's no money left at the end of the month".

Social workers are "O.K."; however, they could do more to help clients find employment.

There is very little community involvement on the part of the respondent. She attends Mass regularly, never participates in community activities, and never goes out for coffee. Her social life is restricted to family interaction.

When asked about the future, respondent stated that she would like "to get a nice job"; she had no other comment to make.

Generally, the respondent stated that she was pretty happy and content because of her familial interaction; however, she also suggested that she sometimes felt trapped by her circumstances.

In summary, it can be identified that this woman was raised in impoverished circumstances and that she was raised to fill the traditional role of mother and housewife. The belief that she is unable to exercise any significant influence over her children and the feeling that she is trapped by her circumstances would suggest that the respondent feels that she has less, rather than more, control over the events that shape her life.

The contradiction between respondent's desire for self-sufficiency and her total dependence upon Income Security Benefits makes it difficult to assess her degree of independence. However, the social isolation that this individual experiences could have an effect upon her desire for self-sufficiency; that is, she may confuse isolation with the

need for independence.

The lack of community involvement, the resignation to her inability to influence her children's lives and her contentment with her present circumstances (even though she realized their limitations) would suggest that respondent has less of a doing orientation. An amalgam of the foregoing orientation would suggest that this respondent does not have a high achievement value orientation.

APPENDIX F

PROFILE OF A WORKING POOR RESPONDENT

Bonnie

Respondent's father was a Sergeant Major in the British army until he purchased his release. He has had subsequent employment as a district manager for an insurance company and as an accountant for a rubber company in Australia. The father was perceived as being a firm but fair disciplinarian.

The mother was perceived as being a self-made woman who worked in real estate and insurance. She is also considered to be shrewd and independent.

There was apparently a great deal of transience during respondent's childhood and long periods of time without parental supervision. The children went to Australia three years before their parents and attended boarding school. Respondent, eleven years old at the time, was the eldest and had to mother the three younger children.

Despite these separations, they are a "close but restless family". All the children remained at home and helped contribute to the family's finances until they were married.

Respondent completed grade 12 and entered nursing school, which she subsequently left when her parents moved to another part of Australia. One brother completed grade 11 and entered an apprenticeship. He is now a self-employed master printer. Her sister completed grade 11 in Australia. She has subsequently completed a degree at the University of Toronto. Respondent's youngest brother completed grade 12 and is now a

duty manager for an airline. Education was not stressed by the parents; however, they did assist their children in the completion of school assignments and provided them with a home while they completed their schooling and training.

When she left nursing school at seventeen, respondent took employment as a layout artist in a printer's shop. She terminated this employment after four years to marry a Canadian and move to Canada. She worked in Canada as a medical stenographer until the birth of her first child.

Respondent has three children: the oldest, a son, aged fourteen, is in grade 8, is a good student and is living with his father; the next child, a son, aged 10, is in grade 4 and has repeated a grade but is now doing well in school; the youngest child is an adopted daughter, aged 8, who is a good student in grade 2.

Since her separation in 1976, respondent has worked as a secretary and is now in the process of opening her own art shop. Because her income has been insufficient to meet her basic requirements, respondent has been able to obtain a supplement through the Income Security Program.

Respondent has a great deal of confidence in her own abilities; she feels that she is in control of her own destiny. Her experience would suggest that she has had to be responsible from an early age -- a mandate that she apparently fulfilled -- and that she has been competent in her endeavors.

She believes in self-sufficiency and "hates being obligated". Financial support has been necessary; however, she is proud that she has "never been on full welfare". She is well integrated into and is accepted by the community.

By opening her own art shop, respondent has shown that she can

determine her own future. The teaching of art can also be considered a future-orientated activity since it is predicated upon an assumption of improvement and development over time.

There is evidence of a strong doing orientation. Respondent has an aversion for doing nothing; she acts as a confidante and helper to friends with problems; she is active in the community; and she gambles on the success of an art shop in a small community.

This respondent exhibits a high achievement value orientation.